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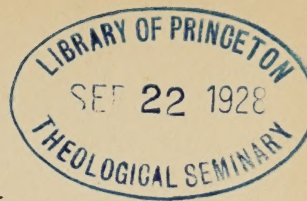








# RACE AND CIVILIZATION



By  
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*D.Ec.*

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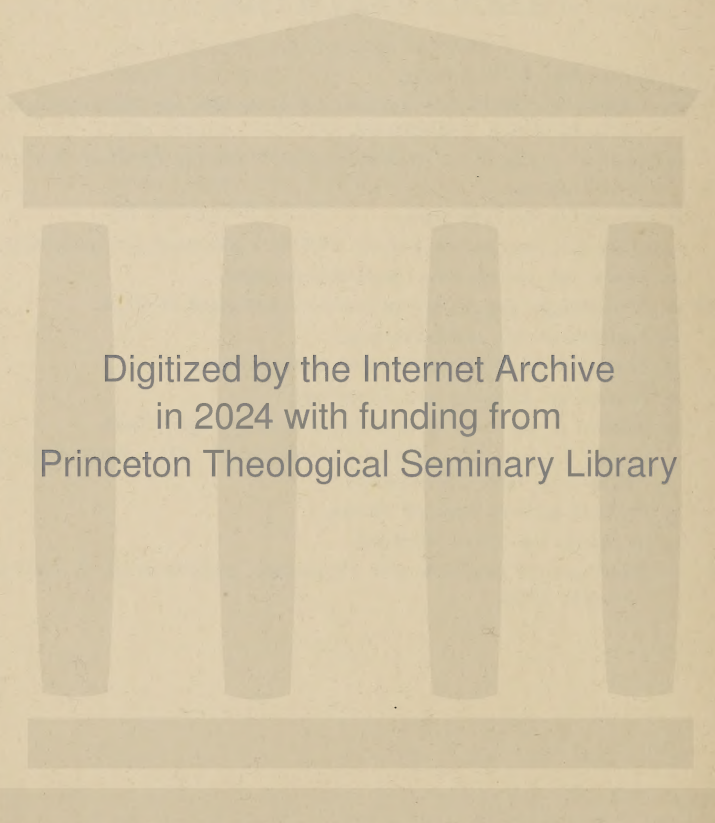
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## PREFACE

SEVERAL critics of this book believe that I deny any correlation between race and mentality. I wish, therefore, to state once more that I do not assert definitely the absolute mental equality of all races; nor can the opposite be demonstrated convincingly. What history and ethnology seem to teach is that the fundamental traits are the same in all races, and that the adaptability of individuals of one race to social and cultural conditions created by other races is not limited by inherited qualities. But probably there is at least a diversity of temperament between certain races and even small differences may sometimes have great consequences. However, these theories, which try to explain almost everything by temperament, seem completely superseded to-day.

Another tenet of all race theories is that race mixing may be followed by disastrous consequences. For this view also, no evidence whatever has proved conclusive.

My book has also been objected to as exaggerating the influence of environment, but I do not at all think that environment is all powerful, nor do I emphasize hereditary transmission of acquired characteristics. This latter theory I even hold to be very improbable, at least in the usual form, though the question is not yet definitely settled, and, moreover, has no great importance for the subject of this book. Generally, environment only offers certain opportunities, and it depends on the historical level and the cultural individuality of a people how it is used, though, of course, opportunity may be a very strong factor. Much depends also on the influence of individual leaders. But this influence is mainly traceable in the formation of nations, not in that of races, with which this book is exclusively concerned.

The theory of the great racial superiority of the "Nordics" and of their rôle as the sole creators of all civilization first assumed political importance as the gospel of the Pan-Germans, as worked out by H. S. Chamberlain. It has become one of the most powerful ideologies in modern Germany, and its part in the mentality leading to the Great War is indisputable. Now, however, some of the nations

who were adversaries of Germany in the War seem to become more and more infected by the unfortunate product of Pan-German arrogance themselves. Even where the antagonism between peoples is more of an economic or social origin, it becomes hopelessly aggravated and embittered by the introduction of race theories asserting the natural right of one race to dominate others, or to restrict by force their possibilities of existence. Thus racial questions have become the greatest of all dangers to the peace and the civilization of the world.

VIENNA, 1928.



# RACE AND CIVILIZATION

## CHAPTER I

### RACE HATRED AND THEORIES OF RACE

ONE of the most deplorable phenomena of recent years has been the growth of the separative instincts among men. The extraordinary development of trade and traffic throughout the world has reduced the spatial and mental distances between the most widely separated peoples. In place of these, however, have appeared deep gulfs between neighbours and even between constituent parts of the same people. All nations have become more and more bound together in a world-economy and a world-culture; the idea of permanent peace and organizations of all kinds striving to bring nations together have spread widely. In strange contrast to all this we find a return to economic and political isolation, and a recrudescence of hatred against everything foreign or different from the native type. Two powerful movements of our time—nationalism and socialism—emphasize the feeling of community, and yet at the same time racial hatred arrives to disrupt national and social unity.

Our whole thinking is dominated by evolutionary ideas; we cannot escape the sense of relationship connecting all living beings—an attitude for which scientific research in many fields offers the most convincing reasons, and through which a new religious sentiment is growing up. Science and contemplation demonstrate more and more the fact that nowhere are there hard and fast lines of demarcation, that everything is in a state of endless becoming, and that even the line between living and dead has grown uncertain.

In sharpest contrast to this is the doctrine, so often preached, that within the human race, indeed even within nations, there exist unbridgeable abysses, and that the differences between races are so powerful as to be insurmountable. Race has become a political slogan. Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism have played a fateful part in history, and already we are hearing of Pan-Islamism and a Pan-African race movement.

It is not difficult to see the close connexion between the race argument and national antagonism, and yet the most superficial glance shows that nation and race are by no means identical. Many nations are indeed quite chance groupings ; they have sometimes split off from their nearest blood relations, while the mingling of various stocks has also played a part in their development, along with conquest, dynastic marriages, and inheritances, and other similar factors. In spite of this, however, all nations like to cherish two illusions : that they are of pure blood, and that racial differences are very deep-seated. In nationalistic ideology almost everywhere belief in race is a dominant factor. Its emergence has caused that intensification of national antagonism which has become such a danger to our civilization.

#### RACE THEORY, THE EVALUATION OF RACES, AND RACE INSTINCT

In this book we shall confine our attention to those theories of race which set out to establish, scientifically, the degree of innate value of various peoples, and to deduce the whole movement of history from " Race ". In such theories the result is usually clear from the start, namely the glorification of one's own stock, and the extenuation of the deeds of oppression and exploitation of others. We certainly do not oppose the statement that there are or may be racial differences, we do not " deny that races exist ", as the favourite phrase of certain people puts it. What we do oppose as a degradation of true science is the clothing of mere greed and the brutal lust of domination in the garments of scientific terminology.

The chief content of race theories, in this sense, is the assumption that the differences between peoples and even certain differences within a people are as deep-seated as they are enduring. One's own race is considered noble, the source of all culture, the pioneer of all progress. All other races, on the other hand, are inferior, less gifted, morally ignoble. Not all the power of civilizing tendencies, of economic development, or of education, can avail to enable the ignoble races to free themselves from this inferiority. At best such peoples can only copy superficially the example of a higher race : a real cultural elevation would demand a change in the physical basis of life, and could only be achieved by extensive intermingling. This would, however, take place at the expense of the higher race, which would be dragged down precisely as much as the lower race rose. Very often it is even assumed that every mingling of races only leads to the combination in the product of all the bad qualities of both sides. Further it is asserted that race feeling (meaning,

in practice, racial arrogance and hatred) has been implanted in man by nature, and that every dilution or obliteration of natural antagonism must be rejected.

In all this there is nothing true except that race-hatred is a very ancient phenomenon. Yet it is not so much founded on a real racial instinct as on mistrust and dislike of all foreigners, no matter to what race they belong—a feeling which always develops under certain primitive conditions of life. Indeed, this feeling is a relic of barbarous times. It has remained for our “culture” to perform the service of dressing up this atavistic survival in scientific tinsel.

One capital error of race theories is the superficial analogies drawn between physical and mental differences. No one would deny that physical differences between races exist, and maintain themselves most persistently. But what does this prove with regard to the mental life of man? Our task is to discuss the various relationships existing between race and cultural, that is, mental, phenomena; for us the physical side treated by anthropology and biology is a secondary matter. Only the study of the human mind can give us an insight in the problem, i.e. psychology, ethnology, history, and sociology.

Race theories represent a strange mixture, made up of evolutionary thought on the one hand, and, on the other, the assumption of rigid race types and of absolute and fundamental differences between man and man. They are made up, further, of determinism and a moralizing view of history, of mysticism and the most blatant egotism. The political results of these theories manifest themselves in an arrogant contempt of foreign peoples and their achievements, in absurd boastfulness with regard to the excellence of one's own people, in brutal resistance of every effort towards freedom, in an intensification of national and social antagonisms, and in the crudest exaltation of force. In the mental sphere these theories lead to the greatest intolerance, to a blind narrow-mindedness, and to a loss of the capacity for critical thought and the ordinary powers of judgment. This idea of race, mostly ignored or even refuted by competent science, has, all the same, an enormous influence on the credulous mass of half-educated people to whom it is cleverly presented as the latest revelation by uncritical dilettanti, by snobbish superficial writers, and by politicians who preach it with simplicity, vulgar demagoguery and insistence. Indeed, even quite serious-minded people, lacking scientific information, and specialists without any wide general education, are not seldom affected by this tendency of the time. In certain countries this



gospel of race finds especially strong support in influential political circles, which see in it a powerful means of strengthening their position.

#### ARISTOTLE'S JUSTIFICATION OF SLAVERY

In as early a writer as Aristotle <sup>1</sup> we find modern race theories sketched in outline, and it is worth our while all the more to take note of this fact because the psychological foundation of the matter is not yet concealed. The Greek thinker treats of slavery and justifies it in the following manner : (1) Nature herself has destined some men to rule and others to serve, since to the former she gives higher capacities and to the latter the brutal strength of animals. The right of master over slave is like the right of man over beast. The ethical argument against such a position can be met by setting forth that (2) this relationship is also in the interest of those who are in subjection since they have no reasoning powers and need the guidance of those who rule over them ; and, further, that (3) the conquering people is always superior by all excellent qualities. And so barbarians are born to be slaves.<sup>2</sup> Of course, there are often exceptions. Aristotle, in other passages, extols the intelligence and the artistic gifts of the Asiatics, while he holds the Northerners permanently incapable of culture and statecraft for climatic reasons.

No subsequent period seeking to justify a similar relationship founded on force has added anything to these general arguments of Aristotle. Even to-day we can accept them as the quintessence of the modern pseudo-Darwinian position, represented by Lapouge, Ammon, and their school. "Physically and mentally," says Chamberlain (i, p. 503), "the Aryans surpass all other men ; therefore they are by right (as Aristotle says) the masters of the world."

#### THE PRIVILEGES OF ARISTOCRACY JUSTIFIED

In the Middle Ages and later the nobility, as a rule, considered themselves of better blood than the common people, whom they utterly despised. The peasants were supposed to be descended from Ham, who, for lack of filial piety, was known to have been condemned by Noah to slavery. The knightly classes of many lands, on the other hand, believed themselves to be the descendants of the Trojan heroes, who after the fall of Troy were said to have settled in England, France, and Germany. This theory was seriously maintained not only in numerous songs and tales of knightly deeds, but also in many scholarly works.<sup>3</sup> In France, the home of the Franks, their stock, even as late as the middle of the

seventeenth century, was traced back to Francion, one of Hector's sons ; indeed, it is said that it was also for refuting this theory that Nicholas Freret was, in 1714, imprisoned in the Bastille.<sup>4</sup> Augustin Thierry has described the great battle of ideas which raged round the question of the origin of the French from the fifteenth up to the nineteenth century, and has made clear its political importance.<sup>5</sup> The theory already put forward by Bodin that the Franks were a people of Gallic stock who had wandered into Germany, and from there had returned later as deliverers of their brothers from the Roman yoke, came into favour under Louis XIV. Within the French people there was, therefore, no racial difference, but national unity of the kind so much desired by the absolute monarchy. This theory very conveniently lent support to the desire for the annexation of the Rhine, the restoration of which, as old Frankish territory, he affected to demand.<sup>6</sup> It was Leibniz who destroyed this theory by proving the Germanic origin of the Franks, as indeed the German humanists had already done in the sixteenth century. The spokesmen of the nobility, especially Count de Boulainvilliers,<sup>7</sup> declared that there were two races in France, the nobles who were descended from the Germanic conquerors, and the mass of the people who were descended from the subject Celts and Romans. They therefore held that the privileges of the nobles were perfectly legitimate. Of course, democratic writers protested against this feudal conception ; others such as Dubos, Montesquieu, and Mably put forward compromises between the opposed views. Later on the revolutionaries adopted the conquest theory, but only to use it as a new and terrible weapon against those who had first sponsored it. The Abbé Sièyes, in his pamphlet inaugurating the Revolution, proclaims : " The third estate does not need to fear an appeal to the past. They will refer to the year preceding the conquest and since they are strong enough now to prevent their own subjugation, their resistance will without doubt be more effective. Why not drive back into the Frankish forests all those families holding the absurd notion that they are descended from the conquering race and have therefore inherited the privileges of conquerors ? It seems to me that the nation thus purified will be able to take comfort in the thought that it henceforth consists exclusively of the descendants of the Gauls and Romans." <sup>8</sup> It was the reactionaries who, after the Revolution and the Napoleonic period, revived the old theories and endeavoured to exploit them politically. The Count de Montlosier did this in 1814 in a way which had great influence upon political polemics of the

time.<sup>9</sup> He saw on the one hand that the mixing of races, even among the nobility, was far advanced, and on the other hand he realized that it would be dangerous to trace the ancestry of the nobility back to German origins, since that would surely hurt French national feeling excited by the war. So he assumed that there were not two races but two "peoples". Both "peoples", according to his showing, were descended from all three races, but the one was from the freemen, the other from the slaves. The former were the real "French", that is to say, the nobility and their connexions; the others were the politically and socially inferior citizens. The two great historians, Augustin Thierry and P. Guizot, attacked as passionately as Sièyes had once done this revival of feudal claims.<sup>10</sup> For thirteen hundred years, declared Guizot in 1820, the oppressed people had been fighting the foreign conquerors; the Revolution had been a real war between two peoples.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE ARYAN CREED

Another favourable time for the growth of the race theory came after the later revolution of 1848. Count Gobineau, whose chief work was completed during the years 1851-5, brought to life again the old ideas of Counts Boulainvilliers and Montlosier, and he found recognition in France by some reactionaries like the Count Basterot, Count Paul de Leusse, and Count Rochechouart.<sup>11</sup> Gobineau himself admits that it was hatred of democracy and of the influence of the 1848 revolution which moved him to undertake his work, of which he says that it strikes at the very heart of liberal ideas. This poetically gifted dilettante developed into a general theory of race the old feudal theory which saw in the Revolution a rising of the inferior Celts against the Germanic nobility. Also the ordinary Germanic or Aryan citizen belonged now to the "racial" aristocracy, and the position and value of the peoples were determined by the amount of Aryan blood in their veins. Such a theory was of course very well suited to attract new members from the rank and file of the citizens to the feudal ruling class, which had been devastated by the storms of the Revolution, for the bourgeoisie in turn had begun to feel itself threatened by the proletariat, and in its own defence gladly adopted the claim to belong to one of the races intended by nature to rule.

Nevertheless, Gobineau found little acceptance in France. The ideas of 1789 had penetrated too deeply into the masses; the peasants were determined to maintain the division of property achieved by the Revolution. People in France saw through the



device—Gobineau had merely dressed up the old feudal theory in a new garment. Further, it must have been a blow to national feeling that Gobineau should look upon the Germans as the noblest race, although he did not express very favourable judgments upon the modern Germans whom he did not consider to be predominantly Germanic. So in France Gobineau fell into complete oblivion, from which he was rescued in our days in the first place by E. Seillière, who criticized his theory rather severely. The later French race theorists, G. Vacher de Lapouge and Le Bon, when they were working on their books, knew nothing of Gobineau's teaching, and Lapouge stated in 1899 that Gobineau was unknown in France, and, especially, that no one wanted to know him. Ideas of race played a certain rôle in the thought of Ernest Renan, but later he turned away from them completely, and in a letter to Gobineau he emphasizes the idea that race is of importance only in the beginning of history, becoming of less and less importance as time goes on.

#### BELIEF IN RACE AND NATIONALISM IN FRANCE

In modern France the nationalists used the race argument especially against the Germans and the Jews. Even outstanding politicians and scholars have treated the Franco-German conflict as a natural antagonism between the higher Gallic or Latin race and the inferior German race. Aggressive French nationalism especially based its schemes upon the argument that the German-speaking inhabitants of Alsace and of the Rhineland were of Celtic origin and that the call of their blood drew them towards France.

However, nationalistic slogans seem to have been losing ground of late. Yet there are still to be found in French and Belgian school-books incredible appeals to national and race hatred, as is shown in a voluminous report published by the Carnegie Foundation.<sup>12</sup> One finds there, for example: "The war appears to have proved that the Germans, taken as a whole, have, as a result of perverse racial instincts, a leaning to evil—physical indulgence, innate malice, and cruelty, an instinct to rob and plunder and murder, ingratitude for even the noblest hospitality, forgetfulness of services rendered them, exaggerated and bitter chauvinism caused by jealous hate of other lands, hereditary and abnormal ambition to achieve world-supremacy, complete lack of generosity, inability to understand the heroism or unselfishness of opponents. They have given convincing proof that hypocrisy, servility, and cunning are characteristic of their race; that cruelty and evil are innate and irrepressible instincts in them; that they have no human instincts,

no idea of right and justice, no understanding of honour, and no sense of humour." This mad outburst of race hatred is to be found in a school-book by two Belgian pedagogues, Mirquet, who is the head of a school, and a university professor, Pergameni. The book is meant to be used in the education of children between the ages of 10 and 12 years. Saddest fact of all, this book was awarded a prize on 3rd May, 1920, by the Royal Belgian Academy.

The coloured peoples of the French colonies are, as a rule, treated upon an equal footing with other citizens; the franchise, active and passive, is often theirs, and they are allowed to become officials. There is no restriction of intermarriage.<sup>13</sup>

#### BELIEF IN RACE IN ENGLAND

In England Daniel Defoe, the great author, in his satire *The True-born Englishman* (1701),<sup>14</sup> has most wittily ridiculed race arrogance in his own people, and it stands to the credit of public opinion in England at that time that this work, which carries national self-criticism rather far, very quickly achieved popularity. Within four years there appeared nine authentic and twelve pirated editions; of the cheaper editions no less than eighty thousand copies were sold in the streets of London. But even in England belief in the superiority of the English race was always widespread. The race argument was launched especially against the "Celtic" Irish, with the purpose of showing how great was their inferiority to the Anglo-Saxons, and how deep were the differences between the two peoples.<sup>15</sup> The fact is, that the race argument was employed everywhere to justify "scientifically" national domination and oppression. Political good sense, however, and the English sense of fairness finally turned away from these pseudo-arguments, and succeeded in solving the Irish question. The idea that the Teutonic race is superior to all others is also to be found in the works of various writers and scholars, but this was rather the expression of a romantic mood, and had no influence in the political sphere except in the already mentioned Irish question. England is certainly the land in which race prejudice plays comparatively the smallest rôle, simply because, of all nations, the English shows the greatest political maturity, and because in the process of governing a world empire she has had far and away the widest experience in dealing with all kinds of different races. Time and again Indians have been returned to Parliament by English constituencies, or called to the Upper House. It is also a characteristic fact that the Jew, Benjamin Disraeli, who himself was accustomed to exaggerate

the importance of race in general, and of the Jewish race in particular,<sup>16</sup> was able to become Prime Minister, and the hero of the conservative and nationally-minded aristocracy—an event which to the Conservatives of continental nations must remain a complete riddle.

Among the English as indeed among all the predominantly Germanic peoples, there is a particularly strong feeling against inter-marriage with coloured peoples, even although these may be the possessors of an ancient culture such as Indians, Chinese, Egyptians, Arabs. This aversion is by no means so strong among the Latin peoples.<sup>17</sup>

The position of native races in the British Colonies and Dominions varies very much.<sup>18</sup> In India, of course, practically equal rights are the rule: the highest positions are open to Indians. It may, in passing, be noticed that the late Viceroy of India, Lord Reading, was of Jewish descent. Indeed, it is merely a question of time until India receives the same independence which the other great Dominions enjoy. In New Zealand the Maoris are legally and practically on an equal footing with the other citizens; so also are the Negroes in Jamaica and in some other territories. Further, so far as the influence of the English Parliament, English officials, and clergymen goes, the natives are everywhere assured of protection and justice. Special care is taken to avoid rousing in them the feeling that they are being pushed into the background on account of their race. But in many English colonies and especially in the Dominions which are independent of the Mother Country, coloured people are disliked, and held to be inferior, and are sometimes very unfairly treated. Indeed, Asiatic immigrants, especially Indians, Japanese, and Chinese, enter these countries with difficulty, or are even forbidden entry in spite of the fact that the English Government, with its eye upon discontent in India, does not approve of this attitude. "Coloured" people are not usually received "in good society", and often they may not attend the schools where there are white children. Inter-marriage is rare, but is not forbidden. Lynching does not exist. In South Africa (except in the former Boer provinces and Natal) the Negroes have the same right of franchise as the whites; owing to educational and income qualifications, however, few Negroes can exercise the right. This fact involves great danger for the future, for the coloured inhabitants form the great majority of the population. In many districts inhabited by white and by black people together an attempt is being made to give the coloured people representation in special councils, so that perhaps two parliamentary systems will develop side by side.



## BELIEF IN RACE IN GERMANY

For a long time Germany was predominantly cosmopolitan, and her great thinkers and writers, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, are the highest embodiments of this spirit. But the great rise of German nationalism during the last decade of the nineteenth century was accompanied by an extraordinary growth of racial pride, and many influential circles looked down with scorn upon the "inferior" Latin, Celtic, and Slav peoples.<sup>19</sup> Nowhere have race theories had so pernicious an influence as in German-speaking countries. They served as welcome weapons against democracy, for the mass of the people was represented as coming of pre-Aryan races—a doctrine which Ammon tried to prove by an exhaustive series of skull measurements. In contrast to the "people", the higher classes were, it is said, of Germanic blood, and therefore born to rule. This noble race was also destined to dominate the world—a faith proclaimed by numerous Pan-German writers. This aggressive Pan-Germanism was provided with its race theory by the Frenchman Gobineau and by the Englishman Chamberlain.<sup>20</sup> Both of these were closely connected with Richard Wagner's circle, in which they found strong support, for the characters and the motifs of Wagner's compositions provided no small incitement to racial pride. Ludwig Schemann became an enthusiastic apostle of Gobineau; he founded a Gobineau association and a Gobineau museum. The writings of this French count were systematically spread by the Pan-Germans. Soon, however, H. S. Chamberlain began to take his place. Friedrich hit off the differences between them in the words: "Chamberlain's victorious triumphal song of the glory of the Teutons, and Gobineau's sad requiem of the dying splendour of the Aryans." As Schemann says, Chamberlain became "the leader of all those who need for their quickening a stronger dose of the illusion without which nothing on this earth is accomplished". Kaiser Wilhelm II became Chamberlain's strongest propagandist; he himself read Chamberlain's chief work to his sons, and caused it also to be distributed among the officers of the army, while a rich endowment made possible the placing of free copies of the work in many libraries and associations. In his *Memories of My Life*, the ex-Emperor William could still write: "The glory of Teutonism was first revealed and preached to an amazed Germany by Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, but all in vain, as the collapse of the German people proves."

This belief in race penetrated into the realm of science itself, and a number of organizations were charged with the task of providing the belief with a scientific foundation. At last things went so far that associations for racial eugenics were formed, members of which were only allowed to marry after a very careful inquiry into their pedigree, in order that any mixing with an inferior race might be avoided. In all this we can see how real was the contribution of racial theories to the development and the strengthening of that attitude of mind which finally brought catastrophe upon the whole German people.<sup>21</sup> An infinitely exaggerated estimate of their own power, coupled with an undervaluation of that of other peoples, made them blind to the dangers of a political programme which was bound to end in ruin.

In introducing the great German army bill on 7th April, 1913, an event regarded in many quarters as an introduction to the world-war, the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, spoke of the threat of a collision between the Slavs and the Germans, and said that the latter were being compelled to increase armaments by the new and extreme manifestation of racial feeling among the Pan-Slavs. These ill-considered words were felt to be a blow in the face by the Slavs of Austria-Hungary, who constituted the strongest racial group in that empire, and they served in the world-war as most effective propaganda in ranging all Slavs on the side of fellow-members of their race. When the war broke out it was hailed from many sides as a war of races. An article by the illustrious historian Karl Lamprecht is especially worth noticing in this connexion. It appeared in the *Berliner Tagblatt* of 23rd August, 1914, and also as a pamphlet. In it the writer spoke of the struggle of the Germanic peoples and the Latin (Catholic) Slav peoples, on the one hand, against the encroachments of Eastern barbarians on the other, as in line with the struggles of the past against the Magyars and the Turks—as though Turks and Magyars were not fighting on the side of Germany! Then Lamprecht discovered that Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland, and America were, on account of race feeling, sympathetic to Germany, and he announced triumphantly: "It is blood that tells!" The illusion that America was to be counted as an ally led him to go so far as to "announce the living future of a Teuto-Germanic race!" Since England, however, could not be fitted into this scheme, the great historian went on to declare: "It is noteworthy that at the very centre of the British empire it is no longer the pure Germanic spirit, but rather the Celtic spirit which is in control." The fact that a really great scholar who was not

even a chauvinist could be guilty of such incomprehensible confusion of mind shows better than anything else can the evil influence which the belief in race exercises upon men's thinking !

#### RACE HATRED IN AMERICA

The Gobineau theory had a favourable reception in America. As a matter of fact, the French aristocrat thoroughly disliked American democracy, and, as his disciple Schemann says (p. 376), he even saw in the American spirit coupled with that of the Jews, the evil genius of humanity in the modern world. The theory, however, was a welcome weapon in the struggle of the slave-owners against the abolition of slavery which raged during the sixties of last century. Consequently Gobineau's book was at once translated and spread abroad in America ; the slave-owners of the Southern States themselves commissioned scholars to prove that the Negro is not a human being, or, at least, less of a human being than a white person, and that, in consequence, slavery is justified in the Aristotelian fashion. It was also pointed out that slavery was justified on Biblical grounds, since it was clear that the Negroes had descended from one who had been cursed of God—the black colour was the mark of Cain.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately the law of "might is right" was on the side of the Northern States, as the outcome of the war proved. The "sacred" right to own slaves was abolished. Yet even to-day throughout large areas in America the most elementary civil rights are denied to Negroes, although this is contrary to the spirit of the constitution. In the Southern States especially, they are treated with the greatest contempt and compelled to submit to a number of humiliating special laws. The brutal lynchings which are still practised upon Negroes are among the most shameful stains that besmirch white "civilization". In addition, the influx of immigrants from Europe and Asia, usually belonging to a very low level of civilization, increased the race hatred. It was chiefly against Asiatics that this race hatred raged, and especially against Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, whose capacity for culture no one can question. Quite recently the United States passed a law excluding Asiatics from the Union, apparently quite untroubled by the fact that thereby the danger of a world-conflict with Japan, and even of a rising all over Asia against the whites has been brought appreciably nearer. Indeed, race prejudices of all kinds seem always to find a favourable soil in America.<sup>23</sup>

The immigration act of 1924 is restricting immigration very severely, especially that of Slavs and South Europeans. This



is leading to increased employment of Negroes in the industrial districts, and a consequent embitterment of race antagonism.

Of course, economic motives are at the back of this policy, namely the fear of American workers and small farmers that they will be undercut by immigrants with a lower standard of life. We find the same motives also in Australia, South Africa, and Canada, but race hatred too, throws its weight into the scales, especially in the movement directed against the immigration of Japanese. The relatively small number of Japanese immigrants has not really displaced many white workers. Further, the Japanese standard of life is not lower than that of the East and South-European immigrants, and in any case, the right and proper desire not to allow the common standard of life to be reduced by foreigners who can work at lower rates than the American workers could be more effectively attained either by a law which made it impossible to employ foreign labourers at lower wages than American, or by a special tax upon the goods produced under such cheaper conditions.

#### RACE HATRED, WORLD TRADE, AND WORLD PEACE

In all parts of the world Europeans have either driven the coloured peoples away from the soil of their forefathers, or have depressed them into a subject or proletarian population without any rights or, at least, as in India and in Egypt, have placed them under tutelage. The only reasons offered as an excuse for this were: "Our own interest and right to live demands it," and also "the need of the world for gold, cotton, wheat, etc., is better satisfied by this means".<sup>24</sup> The white man has taken possession of enormous territories to exploit which he does not possess the necessary labour. The over-populated lands of Asia could provide sufficient labour power. Such workers, indeed, would be glad to escape the poverty caused by lack of living room at home. These Asiatics could produce food and raw material in Australia, America, and South Africa for the white population of Europe and America, and would, besides, become buyers of the industrial products of these lands. Now this necessary pre-condition of a development of world trade is being frustrated by negative immigration laws originating in egotism and race hatred. In this case the principles by which the whites justify their occupation of colonies are quite disregarded; neither the native's right to live nor the general interest of the world are taken into account. It is no wonder that the racial animosity of

those who are oppressed is increasing to a point at which it will become a great danger to the peaceful development of the world.

Undoubtedly this race madness is among the chief causes which led to the ghastly slaughter of the world war. It is a mistake to seek its origin mainly in economic factors. If the bankers, merchants, or industrials of the whole world, or their workers and clerks, had had to decide, the great war would not have broken out. The real causes of modern wars are irrational in character; they lie in the overgrowth of that self-consciousness which considers the smallest concession to an enemy nation to be ignominious. To this overdone sense of importance the idolatry of race has contributed a great deal. There is in this sense a certain truth in the prophecy of G. Vacher de Lapouge, the chief French protagonist of race, when he said twenty-five years ago: "I am convinced that men will slaughter each other by the million in the coming century for the sake of a slight difference in skull measurements. By this sign which will replace the Biblical shibboleth and the relationship of language related races will recognize each other, and the last of the sentimentalists will live to witness a great extirpation among the peoples."<sup>25</sup>

#### RACE THEORY AND SCIENCE

It is a strange thing that so many scholars have fallen victims to the demon contained in this idea of race. Indeed, in many politically backward lands it is precisely the academic circles which have become strongholds of race prejudice. The reason for this lies in the over-development of specialization and of merely technical instruction in many colleges—a state of things which Kant in his day described ironically as "factory-like"<sup>26</sup>—and also in powerful political traditions and in economic selfishness.

Most of the great masters of the natural and mental sciences have, with striking unity and decisiveness, combated the illusion that mankind is split up by mental differences which are profound and unchangeable. Such men, to name only a few (those still living being excepted), as J. G. Herder, A. von Humboldt, K. E. von Baer, J. Müller, J. C. Prichard, C. Darwin, T. Huxley, H. T. Buckle, J. S. Mill, H. Spencer, R. Virchow, M. Schleiden, A. de Toqueville, E. Réclus, A. de Quatrefages, A. Bastian, T. Waitz, F. Ratzel, F. von Luschan, J. von Ranke, all agree in this point of view. Alexander von Humboldt said: "In stating that mankind is a unity we also desire to combat the unpleasant assumption that there are higher and lower races. There are certainly mouldable, more highly educated races and races which, through mental culture,

have been ennobled. But there are no 'nobler' races" (*Kosmos*, i, 382). The greatest comparative anthropologist, Rudolf Virchow, was of the opinion that when one took an all-inclusive view of humanity one could not avoid the thought that we are actually brothers and sisters. That brilliant scholar K. E. von Baer, spoke very appropriately of the belief in the great inferiority of Negroes as an attempt on the part of brutal slave owners to pacify their consciences; he said: "serious and learned men have often expressed themselves in opposition to this idea for many zoological reasons. But the idea will not disappear quickly all the same, simply because zoological reasons have no weight with many of those who believe themselves capable of having an opinion in these matters."

Leading men of research in all regions of mental science come to the same conclusions. As early a writer as Helvetius in France pointed out that nations out of pride consider those characteristics to be inborn racial virtues which spring merely from their own form of government. He adds that every people admires its own faults and shows contempt for the opposite qualities. In order to be a success in any country one must be able to show oneself the hump of the nation.<sup>27</sup> J. G. Herder, perhaps the finest and most universal student of the human soul, stood most definitely and decidedly against the idea of deep-seated differences between races. The very use of the word "race" in connexion with man caused him deep misgiving.<sup>28</sup> The well-known historian of culture, H. T. Buckle, wrote that he cordially subscribed to the remark made by one of the greatest thinkers of the time (J. S. Mill) that "of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences". The founders of the comparative study of Indo-Germanic languages, Aug. Friedr. Pott, Max Müller, O. Schrader, have completely destroyed the scientific accessories surrounding the Aryan cult. The same opinion is clearly expressed by the great lawyer, R. von Ihering.<sup>29</sup>

Of special importance is the opinion of Élisée Réclus, the famous geographer, whose tremendous work in twenty volumes, *A New Universal Geography*, one can only look upon with wonder and admiration. In the introduction to this work he emphasizes how important it is to be on guard against the danger of exalting one race. He says that even the smallest and most undeveloped tribes look upon themselves as the most perfect representatives of the



world. Foreigners they describe as dumb, deaf, stammering, filthy creatures, idiots, monsters, or demons. And he goes on to say that the superiority of Europe is due not to racial gifts or characteristics, but to fortunate geographical conditions, and that Europe will eventually be overtaken. Réclus' fellow countryman, the famous A. de Quatrefages, says that it is easy to see that all men have practically the same moral faculties, both good and evil, but that unfortunately the resemblance in the case of the evil is usually more strongly marked. The prominent geographer and ethnologist, C. Peschel, is of the opinion that, at any rate as far as the power of thought is concerned, there is no questioning the unity and equality of mankind. Most overwhelming of all has been the testimony of those interrelated sciences, ethnology, anthropology, folk-psychology, and sociology. These sciences have established the fact that the development of peoples, provided it is contemporary and under similar conditions, often follows such similar lines that there remains little room for the influence of the racial factor. This is made clear in, for example, the monumental works of such leading scholars as J. C. Prichard, T. Waitz, G. Gerland, A. Bastian, Herbert Spencer, F. Ratzel, H. Westermarck, P. W. Schmidt, F. von Luschan, and also in numberless works by specialists.<sup>30</sup> Our greatest German investigator, Friedrich Ratzel, refers constantly in his *Ethnology* and in his *Anthropo-Geography* to the marked mental and cultural likenesses between all the races of the world. He summarizes his standpoint in the following sentences: "There is only one humanity, whose divergences of form are many, but not deep." "As a matter of fact, the gulf fixed between two groups of humanity by difference of culture is completely independent of their differences of talent." "Race has nothing to do with the possession of culture." Felix von Luschan is of the same opinion<sup>31</sup>: "There are no savage peoples; there are only peoples whose culture is different from our own. The decisive characters among so-called 'races' are essentially the result of climatic, social, and other outside circumstances. There are no fundamentally inferior races. The differences between races, especially the moral and intellectual differences, are not nearly so great as those which exist between individual members of one and the same race." Ferdinand von Andrian expressed the same opinion. The ethnologist Father W. Schmidt, one of the chief representatives of the modern "Kulturkreislehre", says that the equal fundamental endowment of the human mind all the world over is a firmly established acquisition of modern ethnology.

Let us add to the testimony of ethnologists that of a few philosophers and sociologists. Wilhelm Wundt expresses himself definitely against the view that moral ideas are confined to a few cultured peoples.<sup>32</sup> And he adds: "No open-minded man can avoid the conviction that such moral differences are not greater than those in the region of the intellect, where, in spite of the great variety of outlook and ways of thought the universality of the laws of thought remains unshakable." In his *Völkerpsychologie* he writes: "If there is anything which anthropology has firmly established, it is the fact that the qualities of human creative imagination, and those feelings and emotions which influence it in its results, are in their essential characteristics the same in men of all lands and regions." The philosopher Münsterberg<sup>33</sup> hits off race theories when he says that they are simply other forms of materialism, a poor substitute for philosophy, the last result of an anti-philosophic age. Friedrich Jodl, that fine-minded philosopher, says<sup>34</sup>: "There is no madness more fatal, and none which we must fight harder, than that which would look upon moral strength or moral weakness as the peculiar inheritance of a particular race or nation." With crushing sarcasm Nietzsche exploded the belief in race. Of the many other scholars who reject race theories, we mention only the sociologist and national economist, Max Weber, and the historians Eduard Meyer and Ludwig Riess.<sup>35</sup>

With intuitive insight great poets have long seen the oneness of humanity, and their words often sound like a premonition, a protest against pride of caste and race. Shakespeare wrote (*All's Well that Ends Well*, ii, 3):—

"Strange it is that our bloods,  
Of colour, weight, and heat, pour'd all together,  
Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off  
In differences so mighty."

Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing—these among others—rejected entirely national fanaticism, which is closely allied to race madness, and recognized humanity as one.<sup>36</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's *Politics*, i, 1, 2. Cf. also Rousseau, *Contrat social*, chaps. ii and iii.

<sup>2</sup> Already in antiquity strong opposition was raised to the contempt of barbarians on racial grounds, e.g. by Plato in his *Statesman*. Cf. also Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, i, p. 325; iii, 2nd edition, p. 258. J. Jüthner, *Hellener und Barbaren, aus der Geschichte des Nationalbewusstseins*, 1923.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. the chronicles of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The theory is mentioned first in the chronicles ascribed to an unknown author usually called Fredegar. Cf. Jansen and Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Historiographie u. Quellen d. deutschen Geschichte bis 1500* (1914), p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> In Russia a German professor, Müller, tried in 1749 to prove that the Russians were of Finnish-Tataric race. The Empress Elisabeth ordered his immediate imprisonment, and the secretary of the Academy, Trediakowski, who had stated that Müller was right, to be given a hundred lashes with the knout. Müller was forced to recant.

<sup>5</sup> Augustin Thierry, *Récits des temps Mérovingiens précédés de considérations sur l'histoire de France* (first published 1840). Cf. also René Johannet, *Le principe des nationalités*, 1923, p. 34 seq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pufendorf, *Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches*, §§ 3-6 (translation by Bresslau, 1870; cf. particularly the comments of Professor Bresslau on p. 31).

<sup>7</sup> C. de Boulainvilliers, *Histoire de l'ancien gouvernement de la France*, 3 vols, 1727 (published posthumously).

<sup>8</sup> Also in the English revolution of 1647 democratic writers referred to the time before the Norman conquest and demanded that the tyrannic rule of the Normans over the English should be abolished. Cf. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 282.

<sup>9</sup> C. de Montlosier, *De la Monarchie française*, 7 vols., 1814-22.

<sup>10</sup> Thierry, *Considérations sur l'histoire de France* (nouvelle édition, 1868), p. 129; Louis Halphen, *L'histoire en France depuis cent ans*, 1914, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> On the origin and influence of Gobineau's ideas, cf. the two important books by Ernest Seillière, *Le Comte de Gobineau et l'aryanisme historique*, 1913, and Ludwig Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk*, 1910.

<sup>12</sup> *Enquête sur les livres scolaires d'après guerre*, 1923. Report of Dr. Prudhommeaux.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. H. Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, 1924, pp. 148, 160, 176.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Defoe, *The True-born Englishman*. Defoe is defending William III, who was attacked by English nationalists as "Dutch". This may, of course, have helped the circulation of the book.

<sup>15</sup> A profound critical survey of these theories is given by John M. Robertson in his two excellent books, *The Saxon and the Celt*, 1897, and *The Germans*, 1916, p. 19, and by W. D. Babington, *Fallacies of Race Theories*, 1895, pp. 147-246.

<sup>16</sup> Particularly in his *Life of Lord Bentinck*, xxiv seq., Disraeli praises the Jews and the Semites in a rather objectionable way.

<sup>17</sup> Aversion to race mixing requires, of course, no special attention as long as it is a private antipathy based on sexual or æsthetic taste. Only when legal measures or social boycotts are applied does it poison relations between races.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. a good survey in J. H. Oldham's *Christianity and the Race Problem*, 1924, pp. 94-196, and T. W. Gregory, *The Menace of Colour*, 1925. Cf. also James Bryce, *Impressions from South Africa*.

<sup>19</sup> In particular Bismarck, who was not an extreme nationalist, often pointed out that the Latin races were exhausted and would perish. He also said that Celts and Slavs had a female, passive, unproductive character, and the Germans were far superior. Yet he believed that the Germans required a



Slavic admixture. Cf. very significant utterances in Poschinger, *Neue Tischgespräche Bismarcks*, vol. ii, p. 38, Bluntschli, *Denkwürdiges aus meinem Leben*, 1884, vol. iii, p. 95, M. Busch, *Tagebuchblätter*, 1899, vol. ii, p. 118. (Speech to a Styrian delegation of 15th April, 1895.)

<sup>20</sup> There were, of course, race theorists in Germany before Gobineau and Chamberlain; but they had no great success. Cf. on these forerunners Theobald Bieder, *Geschichte der Germanenforschung*, 2 vols., 1921-2, Ch. Andler, *Le Pangermanisme philosophique*, 1917, and *Les origines du Pangermanisme*, 1915.

<sup>21</sup> Lapouge complained in 1909 that race theories did not find any attention in France, and that they had almost become a monopoly of Germany, where they formed the creed of aggressive Pan-Germanism. However, Lapouge admires the Pan-Germans because they dared to challenge in the name of Aryanism the Anglo-Saxons, the most Aryan race, in a struggle for world supremacy (Lapouge, *Race et milieu social*).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Halle, *Baumwollproduktion und Pflanzungswirtschaft in den Nord-amerikanischen Südstaaten*, 1897, vol. i, p. 321. In the times of slavery there were Americans who came to the following conclusion: "Man has been created after the image of God. Since God is no negro, the negro can be no man."

<sup>23</sup> From 1900 to 1922 a total of 1,731 lynchings was recorded, of which 1,552 were of coloured people. A careful and judicious statement of the position of Negroes in America is given by T. W. Gregory, *The Menace of Colour*, 1925. Cf. also J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Colour*, 1920; Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 1916; C. Gould, *America, a Family Matter*, 1922.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Manouvrier, "L'indice cephalique et la pseudo-sociologie" (*Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*), 1899, pp. 233, 280 seq.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kant, *Der Streit der Fakultäten* (introduction).

<sup>27</sup> Helvetius, *De l'esprit, Œuvres complètes*, ii, 21, 22, 1777, pp. 171, 175.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, published by Düntzer, vol. ix, pp. 155, 158; vol. x, pp. 39, 42 seq.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i, 1. R. von Ihering, *Vorgeschichte der Indoeuropäer*, 1894, pp. 97, 98, 188.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Achelis, *Moderne Völkerkunde*, 1894, J. C. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, 1836 (Germ. edition, 1870), Waitz and Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 6 vols., 1859. The works of Bastian fill innumerable volumes. Cf. also H. Westermarck, *The origin and development of moral ideas*, 1906, 2 vols., and Schmidt and Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 1st vol. 1924. As regards living authorities who take a similar view, I refer only to F. Birkner, G. Buschan, J. Kohlbrugge, R. Thurnwald, F. Oppenheimer, Robert Michels.

<sup>31</sup> In his excellent book, *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, 1922, p. 187.

<sup>32</sup> W. Wundt, *Ethik*, 4th edition, 1912, vol. i, p. 40. Cf. also vol. ii, p. 281.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Münsterberg, *Die Amerikaner*, 1904, vol. i, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Friedr. Jodl, *Wesen und Ziele der ethischen Bewegung*, p. 22.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Max Weber in *Verhandlungen des zweiten deutschen Soziologentages*, 1912, pp. 74, 188, 190; also M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1922; L. Riess, *Historik*, 1912, vol. i, pp. 71-82; Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*, 1903, p. 594, and Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 3rd edition, 1910, i, 1, p. 77. Oswald Spengler also is against the usual race theories, cf. O. Spengler, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, vol. ii, 1922, pp. 121, 132, 148, 392.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the opinion of Theodor Mommsen in Hermann Bahr's *Der Antisemitismus*, 1894, p. 26 seq. Collections of many other such utterances on anti-semitism are to be found in the books: *Antisemitenspiegel* (3rd edition, 1911), Schratzenholz, *Antisemitenhammer, eine Anthologie aus der Weltliteratur*, 1894, and *Deutscher Geist und Judenhass*, 1920.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RACES OF MANKIND IN RELATION TO THEIR MENTAL LIFE

#### THE TERM "RACE"

**R**ACE is a term used in natural science. It denotes a subdivision of the species which inherits its characteristics. Living creatures are usually reckoned to belong to the same species if they breed successfully when crossed, and if their offspring possess the same capacity without limits. Yet even this definition is not quite exact. There are certain different species which to some degree inter-breed successfully, as do also the resulting hybrids. Even between species, therefore, there are no unbridgeable gulfs, far less as between races of the same species.

Long ago Lamarck said: "Divisions are only artificial names; for, in truth, nature has formed neither classes nor orders, neither families, nor sorts, nor species." Kant also emphasizes the difference between natural and artificial divisions.<sup>1</sup> It is especially clear that racial divisions are for the most part artificial, for the greatest anthropologists differ widely in the matter. For instance, Cuvier and Quatrefages put the number of racial divisions among mankind at 3, Linnæus and Huxley distinguish 11 human races, Blumenbach 5, Buffon 6, Prichard, Hunter, and Peschel 7, Agassiz 8, Desmoulins and Pickering 11, Haeckel and Franz Müller 12, Bory St. Vincent 15, Malte Brun 16, Topinard 18, Morton 32, Crawford 60, Burke 62, Gliddon 150. And even then when two agree as to the actual number, they disagree as to the division. As a matter of fact, one might just as well assume that there were 1,000 races; every individual indeed forms a race or a mixture of races. Even between races most distant from each other there exist innumerable, almost unnoticeable transitions. Nevertheless, such terms as race and species are extremely useful in the sphere of natural science.

As a consequence of all this many representatives of the sciences of culture refuse to employ the term "race", since it belongs exclusively to the realm of the natural sciences. Herder condemned the use of the term race with regard to human beings. In our time many eminent investigators, such as Friedrich Müller, Friedrich

Ratzel, Paul Topinard, Rudolf Martin, Karl Schuchardt, have, one after the other, emphasized the point of view that anthropology should concern itself with races and ethnology with peoples; but this rule has not always been adhered to. A leading ethnologist of the present time, Father W. Schmidt, expressly says that as long as we know nothing of the connexion between the body and mind the time has not yet come for ethnology, as a mental science, to base discussions on the conception of race held in the natural sciences.<sup>2</sup> In this connexion he can cite Wundt, who insists upon the recognition of the peculiar nature and special laws of mental life. One of the greatest of anthropologists and ethnographers, Luschan, believes that the word "race" might well be given up, if we could only find a less ambiguous term.

Professor Eugen Fischer's method, therefore, of defining race as a larger group with inherited physical and mental characteristics begs the question and is a retrograde step.<sup>3</sup> Such a definition in a modern text-book of anthropology takes the writer outside his sphere. Kant, of course, in his *Anthropology* could treat of the inherited and acquired national character because he meant by "anthropology" something quite different from what we mean, namely study of the human character, not of the body.

### THE PROBLEM

Is it, then, from this standpoint, not superfluous to concern ourselves with questions of natural science, when our real task is to study something mental and spiritual, that is culture? Certainly not. For it is not sufficient to controvert the uncritical materialism of racial science merely upon philosophic grounds. It can be demonstrated that its fundamental assumptions, even from the view-point of natural science, are either wholly or in part, untenable; not to mention its false conclusions as regards the mind. Racial theories have mainly been based on the following anthropological statements:—

1. The physical differences between races are so deep and persistent that one ought really to speak of different species of human beings.

2. These different species or races have also different origins (polygenesis), or, at least, have been kept severely apart from each other since the earliest times.

3. A great argument for this is found in the likeness to animals, or in the primitive traits which characterize certain races.



4. On the other hand, certain racial physical features are accompanied by genius and by creative and civilizing gifts generally. (The Nordic race alone initiates civilization.)

5. The mingling of races leads to sterility, degeneration, and the break up of civilization. (The downfall of the ancient world.)

6. The transformation, physical or mental, of races is impossible save by selection. Environment and education have no influence; acquired characteristics especially cannot be inherited.

7. Variation in type is always due to a racial change and involves mental changes also. The supposed elimination of the Nordic type in modern times.

8. In order to maintain a healthy race the keenest struggle for existence is necessary, and the ruthless eradication of all weaker elements. Democracy and social reform are therefore detrimental.

#### UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE—PRIMITIVE FORMS

A few decades back there was a widespread controversy on the question of "the unity of the human race", by which was meant sometimes the question whether the races of mankind constitute independent stocks, or are merely varieties of the same single stock, and at other times the rather different question whether all races have derived from one primitive stock or not.<sup>4</sup> The modern belief in the relationship of all living beings rather lessens the importance of these questions. It is noteworthy, however, that the greatest scientific investigators have always been on the side of unity. Ranke, the well-known anatomist, summing it all up, says: "It seems to us specially important in the modern Darwinian natural philosophy that, owing to it, the assumption that the human race has one common ancestry—an idea which has for long held the chief place in the minds of anatomical anthropologists, building upon their own careful and patient studies—has won its way, even among those parts of the public which could not understand anatomical proofs in their bearing on the problem, and would not be convinced by them in any case." The modern half-educated man indeed has adopted Darwinism only so far as to ascribe to other races the resemblance to animals so generally believed in. All slave-owners or their partisans have been in the habit of explaining that the Negro is an animal. On the outbreak of the world-war the Japanese were called in Germany "yellow monkeys"; although a short time before that, while there was still hope that they might become allies, they had been hailed everywhere exultantly. In every land nationalist

caricatures have always portrayed enemies with hideous and bestial features.

The belief that certain races more closely resemble animals, physically and mentally, than others finds no support in anatomy or the theory of evolution.

The Dutch anatomist Kohlbrugge has dealt comprehensively with this question.<sup>5</sup> He shows that there is no generally adopted opinion as to what is really meant by "primitive"; indeed, there are five different definitions of it which take as their standard sometimes the likeness to apes, or to the lower animals, sometimes the likeness to embryo forms, etc. Cuvier knew that the skull of the young ape more closely resembles the human skull than does that of the full-grown ape, while the differences only gradually become more marked. The same is true of the skulls of Europeans and Negroes, which in children are exactly the same, while that of the Negro diverges later from the common form. Therefore, according to the bio-genetic law, it would seem that the human type (including the European) is the older and the more primitive. This fact has also been used as a proof that man is not descended from ape-like beings. Some leading authorities, indeed, have taken the position that it is more probable that apes and the higher animals have developed from forms which more closely resembled the human one, but this is denied by others (Schwalbe, Martini).<sup>6</sup>

Kohlbrugge comes to the conclusion: "Higher differentiation in an anatomical sense has nothing to do with higher mentality." Indeed, it is clear that those very peoples which have retained the primitive child-like forms, such as the Caucasians, Mongols, Hindus, and Malays, have attained also to the highest mental development; but the Eskimos and the Tierra del Fuegians must be accounted for here, too.

With regard to other animal features which are usually ascribed to primitive peoples, Weissbach, one of the first authorities on the subject, says that the ape-likeness is by no means limited to any one particular people, but that each people must be regarded as having inherited something of this relationship; and certainly we Europeans cannot claim to be completely without those traits. Martin says about the same (p. 593). Further it was pointed out that many lower forms are even more commonly met with among whites than among coloured peoples, and that, as a matter of fact, the typical features of these latter often show a decided development of those characteristics which differentiate men from apes, and for which the term "excessively human forms" is employed.

## ORIGIN AND VARIATION OF RACE CHARACTERISTICS

It can hardly be questioned any longer that the external variations among human races are adaptations to natural conditions. It is only with regard to the manner and the speed of the adaptation that any difference of opinion exists. This is not the place for an exhaustive explanation of the theories of race development, since we are concerned only with the mental implications of race. Greater or lesser adaptability of race characteristics would possibly be of importance for us if it had ever been established that great differences in the mental and spiritual capacity existed. But this has never been proved. Of course, this question belongs exclusively to the sphere of the mental sciences. Since, however, research into the question of possible mental variations among races has not produced hitherto any positive result, there is, so far as the problem of culture is concerned, little practical interest in the question whether the essentially uniform mental "outfit" of mankind is variable, and if so, whether any variation is likely to be slow or quick. However, the question of physical modifications may be important for our study of the mental problems if it is concerned with this point whether considerable variations, such as have taken place in historical times, indicate a change of race or a variation in the same race owing to environment.

We shall therefore merely touch upon the great controversial matter of modern biology, namely whether variations in species and in races are brought about through selection of variations in the germ-cells (Weissmann), or whether by changes in organs, effected by direct natural influences (Geoffroy), or by the use or neglect of the organs (Lamarck). Lamarck's statement on the inheritance of acquired characteristics naturally supports the view that racial types change very quickly, while mere selection would need a long time to bring about such changes. Race theorists are almost all of the opinion that racial characteristics do not change under the influence of environment, but certainly do change through the dying out of unadapted types, and the survival of those which adapt themselves. According to a remarkable theory of Lapouge it is not only the natural, but also the social environment that is selective and that therefore social conditions further the survival or the dying out of certain types. Biological research during the last few decades has confirmed to a large extent the theory that acquired characteristics are not transmitted by heredity. Yet the problem is far from being settled. Even in the field of natural science critical



investigators have put forth grave objections to one-sided selectionism, and have found it insufficient to explain the evolution of species.<sup>7</sup> The exaggerated emphasis on the invariability of race by extreme Mendelians, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the view of de Vries, that great differences in type have come about by leaps (mutations), have for some time even cast doubts upon the idea of evolution, that basic principle of modern scientific thought. But it is precisely in the crossing of races, that is in the combination anew of the relatively persistent individual characteristics, and in the mutation effected in the germ-cell by the influence of environment, that recent Mendelian thought discovers ways towards the more rapid evolution of new forms. The essence of Lamarck's principle, which, as a matter of fact, Darwin himself never rejected, is now adopted in a purified form and supported by representative authorities with strong evidence. Stockbreeders who can draw upon the accumulated experiences of generations believe firmly in the inheritance of acquired characteristics, as well-known experts confirm.<sup>8</sup> Kohlbrugge says that practically all anthropologists of to-day are Lamarckians and not Darwinians. Moreover, biological experiments carried out of late seem to provide strong proof of a modified Lamarckian standpoint. Various animals were placed under abnormal conditions and subjected to extreme heat or cold, moisture or dryness, light or darkness, changed diet and so on. Distinct variations from the normal type resulted; and by means of light, heat, and moisture, changes were effected in butterflies and in other animals corresponding to those observed in hot regions. In many cases these acquired characteristics seem to have been inherited even after the restoration of normal conditions.

Paul Kammerer placed salamanders with yellow and black spots, some on a yellow and some on a black background. The salamanders became in one case predominantly yellow, in the other predominantly black, and their offspring retained these variations, even although changed to a different background. Other experimenters have succeeded in changing the instincts of invertebrates and insects, achieving, for instance, a change in the instinct for food, the manner of laying eggs, the chrysalis stage, the brood-instinct, and so on—a change so persevering that it seems to have been inherited even when the modifying conditions were absent. (Schroeder, Pictet, etc.)

As to the implications of some of these results of experiments, there are still differences of opinion. Many biologists assume that only great variations in the germ-cell (mutations) can become the

starting point of new races, but even such mutation in the germ cell must be in the end traceable to the influence of environment ; and the rest of the body, whose sensitiveness to environment has never been questioned, constitutes " environment " for the germ cell. Finally, the fact must be mentioned that a great influence has been ascribed of late to the inner secretions with respect to the development of human characteristics.<sup>9</sup>

However, it cannot be expected that human forms should adapt themselves in the shortest space of time to changed conditions, for man cannot be submitted to the simple conditions of an experiment. With regard to the colonization of land overseas, the settlement of Negroes in North America, etc., our experience reaches only a few generations back, since it seems that the number of Europeans in the tropics must be continually kept up by reinforcements from the home countries, while Negro slaves, owing to the small number of women among them, and to sterility induced by promiscuity, etc., increased only slowly and had to be continually imported anew. There are certain evidences, however, that in the case of pure-blooded Europeans who have lived for generations in the tropics (Creoles) a distinct change in type takes place. It must not be forgotten, too, that the European who goes to the tropics to a great extent takes his European environment and habit of life with him ; he is by no means so much exposed to natural conditions as are the natives. Nevertheless, the disadvantages involved in his lack of adaptation often expresses itself in an increased mortality.<sup>10</sup> It has often been asserted that in the tropics European races can stay permanently only by mingling with the natives, that is by acquiring some of the natural adaptability of the indigenous people.

Kollmann, who represents the standpoint that racial characteristics have not changed at least since the Diluvium<sup>11</sup> (perhaps for ten thousand years), explains it in the following way : " If man ever since the Diluvium has escaped the influence of a law of nature which inevitably affects all other beings, the reason for this is to be found in the fact that he can overcome disadvantages of geographical conditions by procuring an artificial climate. This he does by means of clothing, of shelter, of food, which latter with the help of fire he makes easily assimilable for his organism, so that in all latitudes he lives under conditions not widely dissimilar." This " artificial " climate may be compared to the domestication of animals, which has induced in them considerable changes in addition to those resulting from selection. The transition from wild

to tame life seems to favour strong variations as also does cross-breeding. Even the older anthropologists (John Hunter, Prichard) observed that on becoming tame plants and animals lose their dark colour, and they have made use of this fact to explain the appearance of lighter colouring among men. Of late this view has been supported in detail by Eugen Fischer, who compares other racial features of mankind with phenomena appearing among domesticated animals.<sup>12</sup>

Natural conditions, geological and climatic environment, the topography of the mainland, the distribution of plants and animals, in many parts of the world were once very different from what they are now.<sup>13</sup> Thus, in our part of the world a tropical or warm climate has alternated with ice-ages. Penka and Moritz Wagner first put forward the theory that the Aryan race, and especially the Germans, were a product of selection during the ice-age. Further, in those ancient times men lived in smaller groups isolated from each other by wide spaces, and all this favoured the development of a fixed type. Thus it was that in the long course of millenniums certain racial features could be developed and become fixed in a race, while we to-day, in conditions which are wholly different, can no longer discover the origin of these features. If this isolation had continued without any break at all mankind might have split up into quite different species. But great climatic changes compelled men to seek repeatedly a new habitat where food could be more easily obtained and this occasioned numerous folk migrations, involving race mingling. It seems that this process of isolation with the development of a pure stock alternated many times with migrations and minglings.

Johann von Ranke has shown how great an influence upon the body is exercised by social conditions of life.<sup>14</sup> The most general law of growth is to the effect that those organs are most developed which are used the most. Primitive man, who very often has to carry on a very acute struggle for existence, stands, as far as proportions of the body are concerned, closest to the workman member of the civilized races, and furthest away from the men-apes, to which class those who do no physical work (e.g. men of learning) are the nearest. Ranke, in recapitulating, states that the differences in the physical proportions themselves are very slight, and between the individual races are no more marked than between different social types of one race. They certainly do not warrant the deduction that primitive peoples are on a lower level.



## SKULL FORMATION

For a long time race theorists thought that they could take the skull-index—that is the relation between the length and breadth of the skull—as the criterion of racial capacity for civilization. Thus Chamberlain spoke of the long German skull, “which an eternally pulsing brain agitated by ardent longing hammers out in front well beyond the circle of animal inertia.” But the Negroes, Australians, gypsies, Eskimos, etc., have, as a matter of fact, the long skull, while the great majority of Germans, especially the peoples of cultured South Germany, as well as other civilized peoples, possess broad skulls. Anthropology to-day has quite given up the idea that the long skull betokens a nobler form of intelligence. Numerous attempts to discover another index with which to measure the natural talents have produced no result.<sup>15</sup>

In the face of many former doubts (Nyström, Jørgensen, and others), it is assumed to-day, practically without exception, that skull formation is a racial characteristic and is inherited. However, external influences before, at, and after birth, as well as conditions of life, may change the form of the skull, so that the skull-index can give no sure guidance with regard to the race of an individual.<sup>16</sup>

Prominent among the great store of data bearing upon the distribution of skull forms three facts stand out: first, the round-head in the course of history supplants the long-head nearly everywhere; secondly, mountain-dwellers are predominantly round-headed; thirdly, in many parts city dwellers seem more usually to have long heads than country dwellers.<sup>17</sup> The question challenges our attention because these displacements have caused very far-reaching interpretations as regards mental capacity of races.

The race theorists link the first two facts together in their explanation. They assume that originally a round-headed race occupied the whole land, then that they had to some extent retired to the mountains before the advance of the conquering long-heads who were unable to follow them into their fastnesses. As time went on, however, the noble long-heads were much reduced in number owing to over-indulgence of their warlike propensities and were outnumbered in the lowlands again by the prolific short-heads, who had survived as a subject race. The dolichocephalic tendency of cities (which, as a matter of fact, is doubtful) they explain by a kind of natural selection, indicating that the long-heads being more active mentally seek to leave the country and the less favourable

places and to go into the cities.<sup>18</sup> This self selection must, of course, contribute to the fact that the unfruitful territories, mountains, etc., whence the stream of emigration is strong, must show an ever-rising index, since only the duller people, the broad-heads, remain behind. The wearing struggle for existence in the cities more and more makes inroads upon the noble northern long-heads. Lapouge, Ammon, Beddoe, and others think this very ominous for the future. However, their conclusions would be quite invalid if perhaps there were no question whatever of the displacement of one race by another, but only of the change wrought by environment in one particular race.

This is what the environment theorists assert. They explain that it is improbable that long-heads should everywhere have followed short-heads. They think it much more likely that, owing to external or internal influences, the long-head changed into a short-head. Ranke most of all has stood for the view that mountain conditions exercise a direct influence. It is believed that the broad skull depends on a broad chest, which is an accompaniment of mountain life, so that the narrow form characteristic of cities may be explained in connexion with the narrowing of the chest. Johannsen has pointed out the connexion between long-headedness and stature.<sup>19</sup> Further, a connexion is assumed between the increase of brachycephaly on the one hand, and on the other better nourishment, the change to lighter, more vegetable and more easily masticated food, the use of milk, etc., and especially the development of the brain corresponding to an increase in mental activity. The results of animal breeding experiments support the hypothesis that food has an influence. Lissauer described how experiments on pigs and wolves have demonstrated that better nourishment produces a broadening and heightening of the skull. Further, Ivanovsky, after a protracted series of measurements, has found that the influence of the last great famine in Russia has manifested itself in definite changes in physical proportions, in the skull formation, in pigmentation, and in the inner secretions. The "invariableness of the anthropological type" he calls a myth, and emphasizes the "complete power of the influence of environment."<sup>20</sup>

Regnault, Nyström, and others explain the long-headed characteristics as an accompaniment of the development of the neck muscles through certain occupations and much stooping. With the progressive atrophy of the neck muscles owing to their lack of exercise the skull becomes flattened and often highly brachycephalic. The long-headed characteristics of the lower races

are perhaps a result of the drag of the heavy frontal parts of their skulls, and similar characteristics manifested in cities probably a result of the predominantly bent attitude common in the schools and at work, etc.<sup>21</sup>

Thomson thinks that long spines and prominent cheek bones, the usual characteristics of less civilized peoples living on coarse food, induce long-headedness. Pittard believes that the long-headed tendency of the cities is a result of taller stature. Rickets which affect almost a third of all city children, often causes skull deformation, since the fontanel remains open so long and the bones are so soft that they are affected by the pressure caused by lying. A disposition to rickets is perhaps inheritable.<sup>22</sup>

Nyström has demonstrated the necessary preconditions of a change in skull formation, and also that after the closing of the cranial sutures the skull remains for a long time capable of extension, through the reabsorption of masses of bone on the inner surface as well as the depositing of new material on the outer surface.<sup>23</sup> As Nyström has shown by experiment, the growth of the brain and the blood pressure which is increased by mental effort, tends, according to Pascal's principle, to broaden out the skull. As a matter of fact, Nyström found by the measurement of five hundred Swedes belonging to a very dolichocephalic Germanic race, that the higher and cultured classes have a much larger brachycephalic percentage than the lower and less cultured. Further, Nyström established the fact that brachycephalics cross over from the lower to the higher classes in far greater numbers; of course, it is also possible to say that it is owing to this transition that they become brachycephalic. According to the race theories it is precisely these higher classes which should manifest the nobler Germanic dolichocephalic form, an idea which is hereby contradicted. As we shall point out later, great men are often strikingly brachycephalic. Other investigations, however, seem to indicate that the skulls of cultured people tend rather towards length than breadth.<sup>24</sup>

The richest material with regard to the distribution of skull formations in Europe is contained in Ripley's great work.<sup>25</sup> The connexion between mountain conditions and round-headedness seems to be supported not only with data from a large part of Europe, but also by the extreme brachycephalic characteristics so common on the Himalayan Plateau, and among the Andes and the Rocky Mountains (p. 52). On the other hand, in the Zillertal, Iseltal, and Kalsertal (valleys in the Tyrol), the heights show more



long-heads than the valleys (p. 292). Ripley explains this by saying that during the period of folk-migrations the invading broad-headed Slavs pushed the long-headed Germans into the inaccessible heights. The Basques living in the Pyrenees are long-headed, those who live on the plains of France are broad-headed (p. 192). The Highlanders of Scotland are extremely long-headed, very tall and of light pigmentation. The very pronounced broad-headedness in Russia cannot be accounted for by the influence of intellectual work, of mountain conditions, or of rich food. The Anglo-Saxons and the Mediterranean peoples, all of them highly developed, are very long-headed. The short-statured Germanic stocks of North Italy, retaining to this day German customs and language (*Sette comuni*) have taken on the Alpine round-head, and are also otherwise indistinguishable from other Italians (p. 235). On the other hand, the region round Lucca shows pronounced long-headedness quite out of keeping with that environment (p. 259). The mountain Albanians, who, four hundred years ago, settled in Apulia, have retained their comparative blondness and their round-heads in a very long-headed environment (p. 414).<sup>26</sup> Perhaps the form of the skull in certain conditions is more easily acquired than lost? Ripley in answer to Ranke declares that he himself has demonstrated in the case of children in factories how bad food causes a narrowing of the skull (by hindering the growth of the temples) which is in contradiction to the explanation that the Alpine skull formation is due to scarcity of food. Buch, on the contrary, declares that the tendency of the West Finns towards long-headedness is most decidedly to be ascribed to their food, which is better than that of the broad-headed Lapps. Deniker points out that the broader skulls are to be found in Central Europe among the mountains, and in South Europe on the plains.<sup>27</sup>

Thus the problem is far from being solved. Franz Boas has published very striking investigations concerning the change in the skull-index of the children of immigrants into America. These give strong support to the contention that environment has a rapid influence upon skull formation.<sup>28</sup> Eugen Fischer maintains, too, that a modification of skull formation by environment is probable, and cites an interesting example (the great Walser Valley, Vorarlberg). Martin (p. 688), on the other hand, assumes that modifications of skull formation are in the first place due to changes in the composition of the race, and only to a slight extent to the influence of environment.

## FACIAL BONES

All race theories make much of facial features, believing that the character and capacity of the mind are revealed in them. But the formation of the facial features is subject to external influences ; especially important are the chewing apparatus and the way of chewing, as Engel, Langer, Virchow, and others have pointed out.<sup>29</sup> Primitive man, who has to make coarse and tough food assimilable with his teeth, will show the traces of that in his face.

The most striking feature of the facial outline—often used as a proof of the likeness of the lower races to animals—is the prognathous form caused by a protruding jaw. This may be common in lower races, but it is not unknown among the higher stocks. The difference consists only in the frequency. Kollmann, commenting on a table of Welcker which sets forth the degree in which this prognathous form occurs in the various peoples, says <sup>30</sup>: “ The Neo-Italians bear its stamp, the Dutch must cheerfully see themselves bracketed with the Brazilians and the Hottentots, and immediately before the world-conquering heroes of ancient Rome march the Eskimos, all branded as long-heads. In the ranks of the broad-heads the groupings are no less strange ; so far as the noble position of the jaw is concerned, the Tartars and the Kalmucks far surpass the Germans and the Italians, and the latter find themselves in disconcerting proximity to the Alfurus, for only two decimal points separate them.” Prognathous forms are to be found among the skulls of the Germanic race-migration period. Kollmann compares them with some Papuan skulls and cites a Germanic skull which is fully 8 per cent more prognathous than the Papuan skull. According to measurements made by Welcker of the skulls of thirty normal men of German origin, 43 per cent turned out to be prognathous. The two lowest skulls were still more prognathous than the average of five Australian aborigines measured by Welcker. A German anatomist arranged a group of skulls to represent various races, choosing them from his own anatomical collection of German skulls. Experts on encountering this curiosity have been unable to contain their surprise at typical Negro and Indian skull forms which the environment of Goettingen provided.<sup>31</sup> In Europe, too, the prognathous form seems more frequently to appear in connexion with long-heads than with broad-heads. According to Kollmann (p. 101) the brachycephalic and dark-skinned people in Europe had a more noble facial angle than the fair long-heads. Kollmann concludes : “ Nobody will deny that among the coloured and the

light-skinned people the most pronounced differences in the facial angles are to be observed, and yet I know no characteristic which is not also to be found among the civilized peoples," a statement which will later be shown to hold true, especially of the nose. Virchow has repeatedly declared <sup>32</sup> that even the most practised craniologist cannot with certainty assign to any race a skull of whose history he knows nothing. It is therefore only a typical example of the ignorance prevailing in certain circles of Germany when a well-known professor of philosophy writes : " If the mark of my German race were not plain to anyone at the first glance, I should feel that I was a poor creature and that really I had been treated by Mother Nature in a step-motherly fashion. Indeed, if after generations my skull should roll to the feet of an anthropologist, it would surely grin with scorn at him as a bungler in his profession, if he did not at once recognize in it the German skull." <sup>33</sup>

#### FACIAL FEATURES

With regard to this part also of the human physiognomy, individual features which are regarded as racial characteristics are to be found in all races.<sup>34</sup> The slit eyes of the Mongol are known to be caused by the presence of the Mongolian fold. Ranke and Drews have indicated its occurrence in the indigenous Bavarian population of Munich. Among the adults, both men and women, about 12 per cent on an average, among infants up to 6 months of age 33 per cent, show distinctly the Mongolian fold. A very pronounced development of it was found in 1 per cent and in 6 per cent of these cases respectively. Eugen Fischer regards the Mongolian fold and the Mongolian spot as resulting from the Mongolian admixture in the stock of Europe.

With regard to the soft parts of the face, another transforming feature must be considered which cannot enter into play upon other organs, namely that of imitation. Virchow draws attention to this problem declaring that besides the influences of the chewing muscles upon the face, " yet another influence is certainly in operation, the meaning of which is best illustrated by the Jewish race. I mean the physiognomic influence which is effected chiefly through the muscles, especially through the mimic muscles. The difference between German, English, Spanish, and Polish Jews is due not to the increased mixing of stocks alone, though this also is certainly one of the causes, but much more to the imitation and the adaptation of the muscle positions and muscle movements in popular prototypes. To try to discover how far the mimic muscles are able



to determine the formation of the facial bones would be a new task which has not yet been tackled, and which I should like all the more to emphasize here in the *Crania Ethnica Americana*, since America constitutes the accepted field for all investigations into the possible transformation of local race characteristics."

In the same way Bagehot says of America that a rather phlegmatic Englishman takes on the alert American look in a few years; an Irishman or a German adopts it likewise.<sup>35</sup> Dilke believed that it is certain that the English families who have been for a long time in the country manifest the facial features of the extirpated (Indian) race. However, this statement, which is often made, is sometimes contradicted, for example, by Ripley.<sup>36</sup> McDougall also has doubts, yet he gives some evidence for the transformation of the white race in America which according to him may perhaps be explained by an admixture of Indian blood and by the "dominance" of certain Indian characters. In the case of Australia, he believes in a change of the type of the whites. Jewish families which left the ghetto several generations ago and belong to the better classes everywhere bear some resemblance to the other people of the class to which they belong. Men who know the Jews well, like Zangwill and Bloch, confirm the existence of these tendencies in various lands; and especially strong in support are the investigations of Fischberg,<sup>37</sup> which culminate in the statement that the Jewish type is to a great extent a social type conditioned by the history and the way of life of the Jews. In China the Jews are hardly to be distinguished from the Chinese, in Africa they resemble the Negroes, in Germanic North Europe they look like the Nordic type, in Russia the Russian, as one may see from many good portraits collected by Fischberg. It is a great mistake to imagine that the Jew of the comic paper is the most widespread type; in the natural course of events he is as seldom to be found as the officer or the professor of caricature. In the case of the majority of the cultured and wealthy Jews in lands where there is a strain of dark colour, even a good observer will be unable with certainty to identify the stock by means of outward appearance. Of course, racial mingling also comes into play.

As Buntaro Adachi remarks, the Europeans in Japan take on Japanese features,<sup>38</sup> and Japanese who have lived for long in Europe adapt themselves in the same way. Gützlaff on his return from China was quite Chinese. Lamer lately told of two pure-blooded North German families whose children, brought up in China, became like the Chinese, showing slightly slit eyes, etc.<sup>39</sup> In the same way reports show that sometimes Europeans tend also to resemble the Indian

and the Australian types. There is abundant evidence, too, that primitive peoples placed in proximity to European culture take on European features, so that in many cases they cannot be distinguished from Europeans.<sup>40</sup> Schopenhauer remarks that the nobles did not belong to the people, they were the same type all over the world. Emerson says <sup>41</sup>: "Each religious sect has its physiognomy. The Methodists have acquired a face, the Quakers a face, the nuns a face. An Englishman will pick out a Dissenter by his manners. Trades and professions leave their own lines on face and form." It is difficult to disentangle physiognomic judgments from national prejudices and traditional ideals of beauty, consequently they are uncertain elements. Thus many Japanese and many Jews are, according to Nordic standards, far from good looking; this, however, has nothing at all to do with their mental and spiritual life and their cultural importance. The Japanese have not only adopted European culture in the shortest time, but have also considerably enriched it, scientifically and artistically, while the Germanic peoples needed more than one thousand years to assimilate the ancient culture. The "highly gifted" Mandingo are among the most ill-favoured of the Negroes. The Kroo-Negroes in spite of their lower facial type and their striking ugliness are indispensable to European trade. On the other hand, very savage races have so-called noble features resembling very often in a most surprising way the Caucasian type.<sup>42</sup> It is said that the Kurds differ so slightly from the Nordic peoples, especially the Germans, in colour of eyes, skin, and hair, that they may be easily mistaken for Germans. Yet they are a wild marauding people, and their cultural level has not changed essentially since the days of Xenophon.

#### BRAIN

Variations in the capacities of races for mental development must in the first place be traceable in the brain. Numerous investigations have shown that many primitive peoples, at least on the average, possess a smaller skull-content, or have a brain which weighs less than the European. However, it must be noted in this connexion that the size of the brain is related to the stature or, indeed, the size of the whole body. A comparison, therefore, which does not take into account the different statures of different peoples has no value. The small Japanese has certainly a smaller brain volume than the big Patagonian—but what a difference there is in the mental development! It would therefore be quite wrong if

one were to draw far-reaching conclusions, for example, from the many tables comparing small races like the Bushmen, Waddahs, Andamanese, etc., with tall races. According to Welcker, the difference between the skull content of most Europeans and Negroes should be about 100 cubic centimetres, according to Morton 170 cubic centimetres, to Waldeyer 155 cubic centimetres. Between the male and the female of the same race, on the other hand, the difference is, for England 203 cubic centimetres, for Paris 221; among Europeans in general, according to Waldeyer, 185, and to Fischer and Mollison 150 cubic centimetres. Among the same European peoples, says Matiegka, the higher official or doctor has 90 grams more brain weight than the labourer—that is about 100 cubic centimetres, which represents the difference between Europeans and Negroes (according to Welcker). *The differences between the size of the brain of Negroes and that of white people are therefore no greater and sometimes even smaller than the differences between white men and women, between educated and uneducated!* These differences are obviously due partly to selection, partly to practice; precisely as the smith has stronger muscles and the educated man in general has a more developed brain. Of course, there are exceptions; individual geniuses have had very small brains (e.g. Leibniz and Schiller), and the heaviest brain known so far (2,850 grams) was that of an imbecile.

According to Martin's tables (p. 642), East Asiatics, Polynesians, Indians, Kaffirs, Cameroons have about as much brain as the average European (1,450 ccm.); indeed, the Javanese (with 1,510 ccm.) have even more,<sup>43</sup> and the under-sized Eskimos (with 1,563 ccm.) surpass the average European by the same amount as the latter surpasses the less developed Negro (1,330 ccm.).<sup>44</sup> Even the extremely small and uncivilized Bushmen (with 1,324 ccm.) are very little behind the Negroes. Races which are unusually small have, of course, a small brain, yet one of these, the Hindus for example (admittedly a highly civilized people), stand between the Weddahs and the Andamanese—two of the lowest races. The smallest brain content is found in the Australians and the Papuans, who on the average equal European women. Within the race group of highest stature it is not always the most developed mentally which have the largest brain; among Europeans, for instance, the Auvergnats and the Basques top the list, while the Tyrolese are placed very close to the Negroes. According to Fischer and Mollison the mean brain weight of a man among the Chinese works out at 1,428 grams, among Europeans 1,361 grams,<sup>45</sup> Negroes



1,316 grams, Australians, Weddahs, and Bushmen 1,200–900 grams. Consequently, if brain weight were to be the index of higher mental gifts, then the Chinese would be as far ahead of Europeans as these are ahead of Negroes ! Also the assertion so frequently made that the brain of the Negro is not capable of development because as a result of earlier puberty the cranial-sutures close earlier has been shown to be groundless.<sup>46</sup>

Another position put forward is that racial characteristics manifest themselves in the structure rather than in the weight of the brain. But here, too, research has arrived at an opposite conclusion. In the first place a larger brain, for purely mechanical reasons, must have more convolutions.<sup>47</sup> Besides, the individual variations are very pronounced, so that even Eugen Fischer, who firmly believes in mental differences between races, points out that " absolutely no racial differences can be found " (*Erblichkeitslehre*, p. 95). Stieda, Buschan, Kollmann, Topinard, Landau, Poynter, and others arrive likewise at negative conclusions. Kohlbrügge investigated<sup>48</sup> the brains of 130 South Sea Islanders with the greatest thoroughness, and the results he arrived at smash the racial theory altogether. Absolute racial characteristics, he says, do not exist in the brain ; differences in the frequency of certain variations are very improbable, and racial diagnoses are out of the question. The same investigator says<sup>49</sup> that after very detailed investigations carried on for years in dissecting rooms in the Dutch East Indies *it was not possible to establish the slightest difference* between the brain of an aborigine and that of a European. The same holds true also for other anatomical relationships. Mall reached the same conclusion after investigating the brains of ten Europeans and Negroes. There was no difference discoverable, either with regard to the size of the brain or the number of convolutions. Hrdlicka examined the brain of a 45-year-old Eskimo and found it heavier than that of a European of equal stature. The number, the extent, and the depth of the convolutions were more than in the case of the average white man. In examining three more brains he found similar results. Virchow, having examined some Tierra del Fuegians, usually regarded as the lowest of all races, draws attention to the remarkable size of their skulls and Martin says, with regard to the weight of their brain : " Taken absolutely, this weight places the Pescherah, who are described as half animals, beside the European, and relatively to their bodily size the relationship is rather in their favour." " With regard to the type of convolution," says Seitz, " the brains are on the same level as those of ordinary Europeans."

Jacob examined the brains of four Tierra del Fuegians and Araucanians, and arrived at the conclusion that they "are absolutely on the same level as the average developed brain of Europeans."<sup>50</sup> Kollmann absolutely rejects the idea that racial differences exist in the brain. Bolk examined the brain of a Papuan, and while it was found to have few convolutions, it manifested "no phenomenon in the system of branching which had not yet been discovered in the European brain". The investigations of Sergi on the brains of Hereroes produced similar results.

### COLOUR OF SKIN, HAIR, AND EYES

Since the earliest times no racial characteristic has attracted so much attention nor given rise to so many attempted explanations as pigmentation, which conditions the colour of skin, hair, and eyes. According to the popular conception, differences of colouring clearly reveal deep and essential differences among men. The leaning towards symbolization sees in a dark pigmentation of the skin the sign of a dark soul life, which can never rise to the bright heights attained by the white race. As a matter of fact, no one will say that an essential and unbridgeable gulf exists between red and blue sweet peas, or between white horses and roan. In the case of human beings, however, quite trifling differences in degree are sufficient to originate the most absurd prejudices of race.<sup>51</sup> Here, however, it is always a question only of differences of degree. The microscope shows that the manifold varieties of pigmentation in the human race are caused by the accumulation and distribution of different quantities of the same pigment.<sup>52</sup>

The granular pigment possesses a yellow brown colour, and gives rise to all shades from "white" to "dark brown". But even the lightest coloured European has pigment and belongs really to the yellow race; and this is the more evident especially in corpses, whose colour is not affected by the action of the blood coursing beneath the surface of the skin. Poverty of pigment, in general, manifests itself in the allied phenomena of light hair, light skin, and light eyes. The origin of pigment, in spite of eagerly pursued research, has not been wholly accounted for. Nevertheless, a certain connexion between the strength of the pigment and the climate is so strikingly obvious that it has been noticed since the earliest times. For a long time the dark colour of the southern races has been ascribed to the heat of the homeland, but the greatest heat and the deepest black colour do not coincide; the people of

the Polar regions are also dark-skinned ; and very often neighbouring races or races in the same latitude show the greatest divergencies. It seems likely that the moisture of the air also plays its part. To-day, however, it is the rays of light with their chemical effects and not the rays of heat which are regarded as the chief element in the formation of pigment.<sup>53</sup> Pigment is an essential protective means against the harmful consequences of severe exposure to light.

According to generally accepted experiences it is precisely the dark colour which absorbs the warm rays better ; at the same time it is impenetrable to the chemical rays, and besides that the accumulated pigment causes a stronger transpiration, owing to which the skin of the Negro is always damp, and this, too, modifies the effect of the heat. With astonishment travellers point out that the Negro prefers to lie uncovered in the hottest sunshine, often for hours at a time, while the European would get sunstroke from ten minutes of it. Schmaedel<sup>54</sup> has shown experimentally that these chemically active rays operate through several layers of clothing, and even through the bones. A similar view has been taken by C. E. Woodruff, while observations made in the Philippines by various investigators seem to contradict the theory of the injurious effect of the chemically active rays.

Besides this, it must be remembered that the pigment wanders, and that therefore various causes may well give rise to considerable accumulations of pigment precisely in places where pigment does not originate. As a result of the undoubted protective effect of pigment, the origin of the dark coloured races can easily be explained by adaptation and selection. The question whether lack of pigment is an advantage in a temperate climate is a more difficult one. It may well be that the dark skin is more easily acquired than lost. On these grounds Buffon and Blumenbach held that white was the original colour of mankind. Yet a mass of evidence supports the statement that in a temperate climate the Negro becomes toned down a little in colour. Singular individuals become in a short time as light skinned as to resemble Europeans suffering slightly from jaundice.<sup>55</sup> It seems that there are regions which without suffering especially from lack of light yet favour a pathological lack of pigment (albinism).<sup>56</sup> Different individuals possess in varying degree the capacity of developing pigment ; only in those who are wholly Albinos is it quite absent. Among the white peoples brunettes take on brown pigmentation much more quickly and more completely than fair people. Virchow reports that in six weeks in Egypt he



became just as brown as the Fellahin. His skin was by nature of a yellowish tinge. Many people think that for these reasons the brunettes of Europe are to be regarded as the toned-down descendants of a dark-skinned race. Negro children at birth are as light skinned as South Europeans (Italians or Greeks) and take on their dark colouring after the lapse of some weeks. According to the fundamental law of phylogenetics, therefore, the dark skin of the Negro would need to be regarded as a characteristic acquired in the course of evolution. In the case of yellow or brown races the influence of exposure to weak or to strong sunshine is very marked. The higher classes and the women are often lighter in colour; those who work in the sun much darker. Egyptian and Cretan pictures, therefore, show women much lighter in colour. The fact is also important that the lighter yellow-pigmented Hottentots and Bushmen of South Africa are much more affected by the rigours of the climate than the darker-skinned Negroes.<sup>57</sup> Both these peoples therefore smear themselves with fat and soot, obviously as a substitute for the natural pigment. Many other African peoples and also Polar peoples have the same custom. This artificial pigmentation has given rise to many false arguments and data about the colouring of races. Tourists make use of the same means and protect themselves from the strong rays of the sun and the ice by smearing themselves with fat and soot.<sup>58</sup>

It has often been asked why the Red Indians are of a lighter colour than Negroes living in the same latitude. The fact is that the Red Indians are not red, nor the Negroes black; it is a question of various shades of yellow and brown.<sup>59</sup> The dark brown Negro is by no means the rule. For the most part Negroes do not manifest a darker colour than the Indians occasionally show. America reaches north and south much further than Africa does. The continual migrations may have brought about a levelling of the racial peculiarities. It is remarkable how often we hear of very light-skinned South American Indians whose pigmentation is just like that of Spaniards, Portuguese, or even Germans, without a word being said about the possibility of racial mingling.<sup>60</sup>

Virchow designates as dirty fellows the North American Indians whom he examined, and remarks that their colour is very far from being the red copper colour usually ascribed to them in pictures. Prichard first explained the lighter colouring of the Indians in comparison with that of Negroes by connecting it with the fact that America was so closely wooded. It is a fact that in the same latitude the great forests of the Amazon and the Orinoco occur in America

along with the darkest coloured Negroes in Africa. From all parts of the world reports come to the effect that forest-life produces a lighter colour of skin. In Africa, too, the light-skinned dwarf peoples,<sup>61</sup> who are of a yellow colour, are found in the virgin forests of the Congo in the immediate vicinity of the Equator. In this case it is not only the effect of forest shade which must be considered, but also the fact that the green colour of the foliage greedily absorbs the chemical rays. Everybody knows that tired eyes are refreshed by looking at a green surface. Jackmann asserts that pigmentation forms a strong protection against certain microbes connected with chemical rays, and that this fact explains the immunity which the natives enjoy with regard to certain infections. The various race colourings, therefore, are to be explained as the result of a selective process under the combined influence of micro-organisms and light rays.<sup>62</sup>

A strong proof of the theory that racial colourings originate in local adaptation is provided by the noticeable agreement in this respect among men, animals, and plants. Under the influence of this strong tropical sun and the hot moist climate every living thing takes on a more intensive colouring,<sup>63</sup> and the same holds good on high mountains.

The colour of the hair changes throughout the whole human race in varying degrees of brown, red hair being an exception. At the same time in individuals the colour of the hair changes with age. Children in New Guinea have at first light golden red hair, which later becomes brown or black. Negro children, too, have at first chestnut-brown silken hair, which only later becomes curly. Most of the children in the temperate zone are born blonde and become dark by degrees. Pfitzner points out <sup>64</sup> that the colour of the hair becomes constant only after forty years of age, when it can be referred to as a racial characteristic. The Australians, who stand so low in the human scale, have often fine silky wavy hair forming beautiful curls.

#### THE ILLUSION OF PURE RACIAL TYPES: RACIAL MINGLING

The difficulty involved in the question of the division of races is increased if several characteristics instead of individual ones be considered, for the most various combinations occur. Otto Ammon,<sup>65</sup> himself one of the keenest apostles of the race theory, in a most interesting way, and with the help of the theory of probabilities, has shown how slight the probability is of finding a

pure racial type in one of the mixed peoples. If we suppose that two races, *A* and *B*, have been mixed together in the proportion of two-thirds to one-third, then (provided that no artificial limitation has intervened) the number of pure racial types of *A* and *B* after *N* generations will be  $(\frac{2}{3})^{2n}$  and  $(\frac{1}{3})^{2n}$  respectively. As early as in the fourth generation those who are mixtures will amount to 96 per cent, and in five generations to practically 100 per cent of the people. Ammon's conclusions are : in a people which has been mixed for 300 years, there are no individuals, or only very few and far between, of pure unmixed race ; such individuals are possibly a little more numerous in the more exclusive classes which have a purer racial descent and prohibit marriage with lower classes. If certain anthropologists believe they have discovered individuals of pure race in a mixed population (so called types), this is an illusion. It would be just as good to take any partial combination of characteristics and with them as basis select a certain number of crosses and call them types. As a matter of fact, why should a man with fine blonde hair, blue eyes, a long skull, but "Mongolian" cheek-bones, or a "Semitic" nose be regarded as less of a cross than one with Germanic "normal" features but black hair and a round skull ? Of course, relatively pure types do occur, especially because traditional limitations very often hinder free and complete mingling.

The latest researches into heredity show, further, that in the case of crosses, as a matter of fact, a kind of "sorting out" of the cross-characteristics takes place in which the individual traits (not the total type) once more become separated out ; for example, a mean colour resulting from crossing resolves itself once more, in the case of offspring, into its primary colours. Further, since many characteristics seem to be dominant (e.g. dark colours over lighter colours), it is assumed that the grafting of a dark type is sufficient to cause a people predominantly fair to become dark,<sup>66</sup> and then such a people would become "suppressed" blondes. At the same time it is sometimes asserted that, for instance, in South America, a Negro element in a light coloured population has been wholly assimilated in several generations, so that it can no longer be recognized. In this case, therefore, it would be the light characteristics which are dominant.

The problem arises in connexion with this question, whether through crossings new race types arise, or merely a mosaic of different characteristics, of which new combinations are repeatedly reproduced, without a complete unification being achieved. Many



observations support this last assumption, for instance, Luschan's researches in Asia Minor, those of Eugen Fischer among the mixed peoples of South-West Africa, etc. According to the results of experimental racial crossings, carried out in plants and animals, it ought to be clear that in the course of a long period of racial crossing and adaptation to environment a uniform type must develop. The Spanish people, for example, seem to manifest a similarity of form in spite of their being historically very much mixed. Especially striking and obvious are the numerous race-crossings in Egypt, where the most ancient monuments illustrate wonderfully the differences among the racial types. Yet the Egyptian population to-day manifests a very great uniformity of type, and gives no indication of the many racial crossings mentioned in history. This has been established by Charles Myers on the basis of detailed measurements, and, as he says, in opposition to the opinion which he himself originally held.<sup>67</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kant, *Von den verschiedenen Racen der Menschen*, 1775; *Bestimmung des Begriffes einer Menschenrace*, 1785; and *Ueber den Gebrauch teleologischer Prinzipien in der Philosophie*, 1788, in I. Kant's works (Hartenstein), 1839, vol. x.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Schmidt, *Die moderne Ethnologie* (Anth., 1906, i), pp. 320, 332, 356 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Anthropologie*, edited by Schwalbe and Fischer, 1923, p. 122. Rudolf Martin, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, 1914, restricts anthropology to merely physical phenomena.

<sup>4</sup> From a historical point of view, cf. J. C. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Men*, 1836, bk. ii, and Darwin, *Origin of Species* (in his works, 1875, vol. v); there are, besides, many modern books on the matter.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. F. Kohlbrugge, *Die morphologische Abstammung des Menschen*, 1908.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. especially J. v. Ranke, "Ueber die individuellen Variationen im Schädelbau des Menschen" (*Kbl.*, 1897). Similar views have been expressed by Kollmann, Klaatsch, Kohlbrugge, Stratz, Mehring, Aeby, Snell, Bölsche, van den Brock.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. a good survey in A. Wagner, *Geschichte des Lamarckismus als Einführung in die psychobiologische Bewegung der Gegenwart*, 1909; Hugo Iltis; G. J. Mendel, *Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, 1924, pp. 344-73. For the following, cf. Paul Kammerer, *Allgemeine Biologie*, 2nd edition, 1920; Richard Semon, *Das Problem der Vererbung erworbener Eigenschaften*, 1913; Przibram, *Experimentaltzoologie*, 1910, vol. iii; Lehmann, *Experimentelle Abstammungs- und Vererbungslehre*, 1913; Julius Bauer, *Vorlesungen über allgemeine Vererbungs- und Konstitutionslehre*, 2nd edition, 1923, esp. p. 53 seq. The standpoint of strict selectionism is represented in the work of E. Baur, E. Fischer, and F. Lenz, *Grundriss der menschlichen Erblichkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene*, 2nd edition, 1923, 2 vols.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Wilsdorf, *Tierzuchtung*, p. 37. Also Professor Keller points out that practical breeders have the same standpoint as Lamarck. Cf. C. Keller, *Stammesgeschichte unserer Haustiere*, 2nd ed., 1919, pp. 24, 32.

<sup>9</sup> Julius Bauer, pp. 152, 159, 161, 168, 172, 176, 177, 179, 186, 209; Jens Paulsen, "Wesen und Entstehung der Rassenmerkmale," in *AA.*, 1921.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 1877, i, 2nd ed., p. 147 seq.; also C. Pearson, *National Life and Character*, 1893; Kohlbrugge in *ARG.*, vii, 1910, p. 564 seq. However, T. W. Gregory in a special chapter of his valuable book (p. 173) gives weighty evidence against the view that the white man cannot become acclimatized in the tropics.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. a list of his publications on this problem in *Kbl.*, xxxi, 1900, p. 5; furthermore, his paper "Rassenanatomie der Hand und die Persistenz der Rassenmerkmale," *AA.*, vol. 1902, p. 91. Kollmann, "Beiträge zu einer Kraniologie der europäischen Völker," in *AA.*, xiii, 1881, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> Eugen Fischer, *ZMA.*, vol. xviii; "Festschrift für Schwalbe," p. 479, *AA.*, vol. xli, supplement 2. (*Verhandlungen der Anatomischen Gesellschaft, Innsbruck*, 1914); *Festschrift für E. Hahn*, 1917.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Friedrich Ratzel, "Der Ursprung der Arier in geographischem Licht," in *Kleine Schriften*, 1906, vol. ii, p. 392.

<sup>14</sup> Ranke, *Der Mensch*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, 1894, pp. 13, 46, 53, 72, 101, 130. Also L. Bolk, "Ueber die Körperlänge der Niederländer und deren Zunahme in den letzten Dezennien," *ZMA.*, vol. xviii, p. 15; Pfützner, "Sozial-anthropologische Studien," *ZMA.*, vol. iv, 1902, p. 31, especially p. 75. Cf. also many facts quoted by Buschan (*Menschenkunde*, 1909, p. 46) and Finot (*Le préjugé des races*, 1905, pp. 151, 159, 217). Pittard, *Les races et l'histoire*, 1924, p. 17, explains the higher stature of Americans by the greater use of labour-saving agricultural machines. In Europe the rural population,

particularly in the mountains, is smaller because of harder toil, smaller amount of sleep, etc. Stature also influences the form of the skull. Of course, such variations do not affect racial characteristics.

<sup>15</sup> More recent literature quoted by Szombathy, "Ueber relative Schädelmasse," *MWAG.*, 1918-19, p. 177, who himself gives there a more refined method.

<sup>16</sup> Such influences are, e.g. deformations by the act of birth, rachitis, hydrocephaly, etc. Vesalius (1543) said that the Germans mostly had flat occiputs and broad skulls because they put babies in the cradle on their backs, while in Belgium the skulls were longer because the children were laid on their sides. Recently Walcher has shown that even twins from one ovulum, who have exactly the same hereditary constitution, adopt quite different skull formations by being placed either on a soft or a hard pillow (*Korrbl.*, 1914, and 1916, p. 68). But this observation must not be over-estimated, cf. Martin, p. 684, Luschán, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> An increase of round-headedness in historic times has been ascertained in Old Egypt, Crete, Greece, Germany, England, France, Sweden, Holland, the Alpine countries, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Bosnia, Russia, Japan, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Vacher de Lapouge, *Race et milieu social*, 1909, and other books by the same author. However, the tendency of towns towards dolichocephaly seems to exist only in brachycephalic countries; in some dolichocephalic ones an opposite tendency has been found. Therefore, Niceforo tried to explain this simply by the fact that the possessing classes have a greater freedom of changing their domicile: Niceforo, *Anthropologie der nichtbesitzenden Klassen*, 1910.

<sup>19</sup> Johannsen in *ARG.*, iv, p. 171.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Lissauer in *VBG.*, 1901, p. 373. Ivanowsky in *AA.*, 1923, "Anthropometrische Veränderungen russischer Völker unter dem Einfluss der Hungersnot." Also geological conditions influencing the fertility of the soil, nourishment, etc., seem to have an effect. Cf. interesting examples given by Finot, pp. 217-18.

<sup>21</sup> Regnault, "Variation de l'indice céphalique sous l'influence du milieu," in *BSAB.*, 1901, p. 147 seq. Nyström, "Formenveränderungen des menschlichen Schädels," *AA.*, 1902; cf. also Ranke, pp. 232-3. A. Thomson, "Factors concerned in the production of man's cranial form," *JAI.*, 1903.

<sup>22</sup> Since rachitis is mainly a disease of the poorer classes, the deformations of the skull caused by it may lead to the mistaken view that upper and lower classes represent different racial types.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Baelz and Virchow, *VBG.*, 1901, p. 211 seq.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Journal of Political Economy*, 1897-8, pp. 77 and 90; 1895-6, p. 262; 1899, p. 248. Measurements give contradictory results.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900 (with extensive bibliography).

<sup>26</sup> However, V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, *Homo sapiens*, 1913, quotes Pittard's statement that these Albanians show a marked transformation in the form of their skulls and in their stature.

<sup>27</sup> *JAI.*, 1904, p. 206. Also in Kordofan (Africa) the mountain-dwellers are brachycephalic, the plain-dwellers dolichocephalic. Cf. *ZE.*, 1920-1, p. 167.

<sup>28</sup> F. Boas, *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*, 1912; cf. also Boas, *Kultur und Rasse*, 1914, p. 61 seq. While according to Retzius 30 per cent of all adult Swedes were dolichocephalic and only 13 per cent brachycephalic, Stevenson found that among 100 Swedish children in America there were no long-heads and 61 per cent were broad-heads. Yet Stevenson believes in constancy of the skull. Ranke rather believed the opposite, *AA.*, 1915, p. 141.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ranke, ii, pp. 239-48.

<sup>30</sup> "Beiträge zu einer Kraniologie der europäischen Völker" (*AA.*, xiii, 1881).

<sup>31</sup> A great number of skeletons were found in a Paris cemetery which were believed to be the remains of Russian soldiers who died in Paris in 1814. A famous anatomist examined the skulls and stated that they belonged to Finns, Bashkirs, Kalmucks, and other Siberian tribes. Unfortunately it was soon



discovered that the skulls belonged exclusively to women who had died in 1832 of cholera. Bean found all European cranial types in the Philippines, *AA.*, 1915, p. 80.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Virchow, "Rassenbildung und Erbllichkeit," in *Festschrift für A. Bastian*, 1896, p. 25. The same author in *Kbl.*, 1882, p. 210.

<sup>33</sup> Professor Bruno Bauch in *Kant-Studien*, xxi, 1917, "Vom Begriff der Nation."

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also C. Fetzner, "Rassenanatomische Untersuchungen an 17 Hottentottenköpfen," *ZMA.*, 1914.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Walter Bagehot, *Ursprung der Nationen*, 1874, p. 44.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 6th ed., 1872, p. 223. Ripley in *JAI.*, 1908, p. 222. Cf. McDougall, *The Group Mind*, 1921, pp. 214-16.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. M. Fishberg, *Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden*, 1913, p. 228, and Bloch in *BSAP.*, 1909.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *ZMA.*, 1903, vi, pp. 28-9.

<sup>39</sup> *Mediz. Klinik*, vi, No. 46.

<sup>40</sup> Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 1877, vol. i, pp. 70, 71, 79, 80, 81, 83, 135.

<sup>41</sup> Emerson, *English Traits*, chap. iv. W. Hellpach, "Das fränkische Gesicht" (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ii, 1921). A comparison between the former physiognomy of the Maoris and the present one is very striking. Cf. Alfred Manes, *Der soziale Erdteil*, 4th ed., 1914, where a few good photographs are given.

<sup>42</sup> Ratzel, Ranke, and Waitz give a great many instances.

<sup>43</sup> However, Fischer and Mollison give only 1,437 ccm. as regards Javanese.

<sup>44</sup> The skull of the greatest German poet Schiller, as examined by Froriep, had only 1,410 ccm., which corresponds to 1,300 gr. weight. This is even a little less than the average Negro brain weight quoted by Fischer and Mollison. Cf. *AA.*, 1914, p. 79. J. M. Robertson quotes a passage from George Eliot's diary to the effect that she heard the sculptor Rauch say that Schiller had a "miserable forehead" and she herself had observed the same.

<sup>45</sup> Marchand has weighed 1,169 Hessian brains and found a male average of 1,400 gr. and a female average of 1,275 gr. (cf. *Abhandlungen der sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxvii, 1902). According to Handmann, the averages in Saxony were 1,370 gr. and 1,250 gr. respectively (cf. *Archiv für Anatomie und Physiologie*, 1906).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. on this problem Erich Franke, *Die geistige Entwicklung der Negerkinder*, 1915, p. 116 seq., and Martin, p. 632. The statement that coloured races arrive earlier at sexual maturity has become doubtful. Cf. Franke, p. 104 seq., Bälz, in *VBG.*, 1901, p. 211. Eugen Fischer in *Anthropologie*, edited by Schwalbe and Fischer.

<sup>47</sup> Fischer and Mollison, p. 41. Cf. also R. Thurnwald "Psychologie des primitiven Menschen" (*HVP.*, i), p. 163; Buschan, *Menschenkunde*, pp. 160, 206; Buschan, *Gehirn und Kultur*, 1906.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Kohlbrugge in the "Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Science at Amsterdam" (review in the *Jahresberichte für Anatomie*, 1911, iii, 2, p. 868 seq.); also Mall in the same publication, and *Anth.*, v, 1910, p. 280.

<sup>49</sup> Kohlbrugge in *ARG.*, 1910, vii, p. 564.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Kollmann in *ZE.*, 1905, p. 601.

<sup>51</sup> Luschan says it is difficult to define what a coloured race is. A European Governor in Africa once issued an order prescribing what "Negroes, Arabians, Hindoos, Portuguese, Greeks, and other coloured people" should do when meeting a "white man".

<sup>52</sup> Except probably red hair, in which the pigment appears in another form Fischer has stated recently that the pigment of different races is different (*Erblichkeitslehre*, p. 98).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. especially Bälz in *VBG.*, 1901, p. 204 seq.

<sup>54</sup> In *Kbl.*, 1900, p. 49 seq. Cf. A. Basler, *Einführung in die Rassen- und Gesellschaftsphysiologie*, 1925, pp. 39, 48, and T. W. Gregory, *The Menace of Colour*, 1925, p. 184.

<sup>55</sup> Ranke, pp. 166, 370-1. Westermarck, *Geschichte der menschlichen Ehe* (German ed.), 1893, p. 268. Westermarck quotes a case of a Negro who in Europe became light like a European. Many cases of Europeans who assumed

Negro colour in the tropics are well proved. Cf. Waitz, p. 51 seq., Finot, pp. 235, 244, 452. Some families from the very light Kashmir Brahmans migrated half a dozen generations ago to the South, and have there become quite dark and not to be distinguished from the natives. They are most exclusive as regards marriages, and mixing is out of the question. Cf. W. Crooke, "The stability of caste and tribal groups in India," *JAI.*, 1914, p. 270. Myers (*JAI.*, 1908) quotes the case of certain Copts who have married only among themselves for 1,300 years and who have become dark. Of course, even the strictest caste laws may not have been able to prevent mixing. It is also possible that climatic selection has taken place.

<sup>56</sup> Poesche believes that the fairness of the Nordics indicates that they had their origin in a certain region of Russia, where, as he alleges, all organic beings, men, animals, and trees, show a very marked tendency towards albinism. Pribram (*Experimentalzoologie*, vol. iii, 1910) shows that extreme temperature and humidity cause albinism in animals.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Ratzel, vol. ii, pp. 681, 695.

<sup>58</sup> It has been stated innumerable times that Negroes have a peculiar offensive smell, but this seems to be a consequence of their mode of living. Where Negroes live under the same conditions as wealthy whites they do not smell, as is proved by the case that many Negroes are servants, chauffeurs, etc., in the houses of the rich, who would certainly not tolerate an evil smelling person in their home. During the Middle Ages a loathsome smell was ascribed to the Jews, and many Asiatics of to-day find that Europeans stink; this has sometimes been explained by the fact that Europeans eat much more meat and therefore have a different perspiration. A prominent Japanese anthropologist, Dr. Buntaro Adachi, describes the racial smell of the Europeans, which, he says, is distasteful to Japanese. Cf. O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, 1908, p. 812. In the eighth century the Pope warned the Frankish kings not to contaminate their blood by marriage with the "stinking Longobardians", the Teutonic rulers of Italy! Schultheiss, *Geschichte des deutschen Nationalgefühls*, 1893, p. 46. Cf. R. Andree, *Völkergeruch, Ethnographische Parellelen N.F. und Globus*, Bd. 61.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Dr. K. E. Ranke in *ZE.*, 1898, pp. 61-73.

<sup>60</sup> Waitz adduces many examples, cf. pp. 50-1, 53, 55, 60, 71, 98, 135, 193, 246-7. It seems that dense woods have a bleaching effect. Recently a tribe of white, fair, and blue-eyed Indians has been discovered in a swampy district of Mexico.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, i, 710; ii, 271. However, there are even near the Equator certain tribes, like the Waganda, Sandeh, etc., that are comparatively light-coloured, without any possible influence of woods.

<sup>62</sup> Jackmann in *ARG.*, 1909, p. 754.

<sup>63</sup> Further examples are given by Lyde, "Climatic Control of Skin Colour," in *Papers on Interracial Questions*, 1911, p. 104.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *ZMA.*, vol. i, 1899, p. 343, and vol. iii, p. 507. Only a quarter of all individuals retain the colour of the hair as it is in the first two years of life, and three-quarters change from fair to dark.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ammon in *ZMA.*, vol. ii, p. 279.

<sup>66</sup> Blue eyes, therefore, are said to indicate pureness of type (as regards this trait), and it is also stated that two blue-eyed parents cannot have brown-eyed children. Yet Joergensen, in the Faroe Islands, found that out of thirty-eight cases where both parents were blue-eyed in fourteen cases the children had brown eyes.

<sup>67</sup> Flinders Petrie, "The Races of Early Egypt," in *JAI.*, 1901, p. 248 (with fine pictures of races); the same author, "Migrations," *JAI.*, 1906, p. 189.

## CHAPTER III

### RACE AND PSYCHOLOGY

ALL race theories are founded on the assertion of inherited mental race characteristics. It is assumed that man's whole mental life is decided by inheritance to a very large extent from the moment of birth, exactly as is the colour of his skin, and that education and environment cannot bring about a considerably higher stage of evolution. Yet with this alone the theory of race is not determined. Certain family characteristics and individual traits are inherited without doubt, though as a rule, this must not be taken in the light of inflexible predestination. Therefore it could also be assumed that within each race the most varied mental abilities, tendencies or tempers are transmitted, without admitting the existence of different mental race characteristics. The assertion that a quite distinctive and momentous mental peculiarity is the heritage of every race is required to establish a race theory in our sense.

These two suppositions must be kept severely apart, for their confusion leads to one of the most widespread fallacies of so-called "scientific" race theorists. Thus the principal and most serious German work of the present day<sup>1</sup> gives a number of more or less proven cases of individual inheritance and by this apparently believes to have demonstrated the existence of a hereditary race character. A further source of error is the want of clarity as to what is to be considered hereditary and how far the tendency persists. Without further examination we presume as more or less proven that certain elementary psychical functions, like perception, feeling, inclination, memory, association and so forth, show in different individuals differences in degree, duration or quickness, and that such individual qualities are transferable to some extent. Racial differences of this kind have, however, not yet been scientifically established.<sup>2</sup> Neither do we know whether such elementary faculties are inherited in typical combinations (which would mean that more complicated psychical types could be transmitted also) or not. Our experience of physical heredity is telling rather against the transfer of more complicated types.

Moreover, even weak bodily constitutions by systematic training and exercise may be sometimes made capable of remarkable



performances, as anecdotes of famous men tell us, while splendid physical faculties may degenerate root and branch. This must certainly still more be the case with mind; the normal mind being more plastic and more adaptable than matter. Yet many theorists of heredity, particularly in Germany, deny absolutely or almost any chance of moulding innate tendencies. Professor Fritz Lenz, one of the foremost scientific representatives of this school, refers to Peter's assertion that school, environment, home education, have only the slightest influence on school achievements, and believes even that such achievements are conditioned nine-tenths by heredity.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere he says: "It is quite hopeless to imagine that mankind may be raised permanently by training and education."

The view that mental and moral characteristics are fixed and incapable of development is peculiar to all race theorists. All seek to negative or minimize the influence of environment, time, tradition, and education. In other respects, however, views vary. There are some who consider elementary mental dispositions inborn, others that higher ideas are innate, nay even that we come into the world provided with a full and complete philosophy. Not only in popular writings, but even in scientific works, for example in histories, complicated mental images, such as the ideas of God, freedom, duty, truth, private property, family, patriotism, justice, are given as racial predispositions. It seems as if Locke and Kant had never refuted the belief in inborn ideas. But even these uncritical theories of bygone centuries never maintained that inborn ideas differed according to race. Only the materialism of our own day has driven the analogy between mind and body so far as to presuppose a dark skin necessarily corresponds to a dark mind. This exaggeration of the power of heredity is aiming at giving a philosophical basis to mighty political and social tendencies. The doctrines of environment and evolution have a liberal tendency, they teach the fundamental equality of all men whose real difference is represented as the result of a different environment, or of different stages of development. Certainly these doctrines have often been exaggerated too. In strong opposition to them stands the champion of inborn characteristics; inborn ideas are to be the foundation of inborn rights; the noble-born race has a right to rule the inferior one. So Count Gobineau confesses frankly that his race theory was to serve in the fight against Revolution and Liberalism. He says further that his work is the expression of instincts which he brought with him at birth. All race theorists

indeed seek to minimize the part played by reason and to represent the influence of instinct as overwhelming.

#### INSTINCT AND REASON

##### MENTAL HEREDITY

By instinctive action is meant useful, but inherited, involuntary reaction. It borders on the one hand on inferior reflexes, on the other on originally conscious action which has become automatic, e.g. mechanical piano playing or walking.<sup>4</sup> There is now a tendency in psychology, caused by the influence of modern research on heredity, to concede a very large place to mental hereditary disposition.<sup>5</sup> Such dispositions are little different from instincts, apart from the accompanying idea of purpose, which may perhaps be not quite absent from animal instincts too. Reason plays therein such a restricted rôle that man's entire behaviour appears automatic and instinctive. Human character is already determined through the combination of hereditary tendencies at the time of conception.

This view is founded on real (or presumed) observation, according to which the most varied of mental characteristics are tenaciously preserved among the descendants.<sup>6</sup> Without doubt certain psychical defects and some reflexes can be explained in this way. Even musical gifts and perhaps also some others seem principally due to heredity. The inheritance of elementary mental tendencies is at least very probable. Yet most of these studies show two grave mistakes. They over-estimate the degree of certainty which is possible on the subject, and draw far-reaching conclusions from quite unimportant chance statistical differences.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, they proceed mostly from a belief in the omnipotence of heredity, and take too little account of the effect of the conscious and unconcious influence of education and example. This is true also of the ingènius research work of Francis Galton, the founder of this school of thought. It is certainly not always mental heredity which leads a son to follow the same profession as his famous father, but very often the authority of the father paves the way for him, his example and influence spur him on. So the descendants of prominent politicians, lawyers, professors often go far in the same calling without this being due in any preponderating degree to the inheritance of talent.<sup>8</sup> The power of family tradition is enormous. It would only be conclusive for the theory of heredity if one could show cases of normal children who have never come under the

influence of their parents or their environment (e.g. orphans brought up in asylums) developing the complicated psychical character of one of the parents.

One ought to be very careful, especially in the application of Mendelian formulæ to psychical facts. When resemblances among relatives appear they are taken as a proof of heredity. When no such resemblances appear or when crass opposites appear, that is put down to the influence of some ancestor which is latent in the parents, or to some other chance play of inheritance. It cannot be taken seriously when R. Sommer in his study, *Goethe im Licht der Vererbungslehre*, 1908, asserts that Goethe inherited his love of nature, especially of botany, from an ancestor, Lindheimer by name, who was born 200 years before Goethe and whose gifts are supposed to have appeared again fifty years after Goethe in a botanist of the same name.

German writers have also taken great pains to explain Bismarck's genius by tracing it back to his ancestors. Yet this has failed entirely. Bismarck's father and his ancestors were all average Junkers without any prominent gifts, and though among the ancestors and more distant relatives of his mother there were several professors and bureaucrats of some importance, their mental type was entirely different from that of the great German statesman.<sup>9</sup>

This unrestricted explanation of all mental phenomena as inherited unchangeable instincts denies the whole development of the human race, and indeed is in direct opposition even to animal psychology. Neither are the instincts of animals unalterable, nor are they the only motive power. Bees, ants, and birds sometimes suit their inherited habits to their environment in a very remarkable degree. True, the bird inherits its song, e.g. young doves brought up in complete isolation developed their normal tonation<sup>10</sup>: but sparrows which were kept with canaries developed the canary song, and when they were put later among sparrows they adapted themselves to their sparrow environment and changed again when put back in the first milieu. Canaries learn from nightingales their song and lose their own entirely.<sup>11</sup> But above all, the taming of domestic animals proves a fundamental change of instinct. Ferocious beasts have developed into the tamed specimens which a child herds in the meadow. The wolf becomes a good-natured dog. It is doubtful if this is purely a question of selection. In farmyards cat, dog, and fowl, contrary to all their instincts, live peaceably together, and surely this has little to do with selection. The higher animals without doubt show signs of reason, be they ever



so limited. Also wild animals are taught a good deal by their parents and in some cases even by other members of the herd, acting as teacher.

Man seems to be particularly poor in instincts and just this deficiency seems to have forced him to the development of his intelligence. The new-born child brings very little with it, even the ideas of time and space come only gradually to the infant.<sup>12</sup> And nowhere afterwards does one meet with a spontaneous appearance of inherited tendencies ready made. If the mental life depends on instinct why is man not born with the power to use his mother tongue as animals develop their characteristic voices? In reality many advocates of heredity take for granted that the brain has special race abilities for its own language, into the delicacy of which no foreigner can penetrate. That is certainly untrue. Black children acquire English, German or French just as well, perhaps even quicker than Europeans do.

#### INHERITED TENDENCIES OR ENVIRONMENT

The controversy as to whether inherited tendencies or environment are stronger expresses itself in the sphere of natural science in the great antagonism between the followers of the teachings of Lamarck and Weismann. Likewise in pathology, medicine, and hygiene there are conflicting opinions as to whether diseases are more due to the inner constitution of the body or to outward causes. With regard to mental life we find the same antithesis in character-ology; sexual, juvenile, and criminal psychology; pedagogy; criminal law; psychopathology; in the philosophy of history and social science.

It is remarkable that one of the most important researchers in mental inheritance, Professor W. Peters, who is often cited as the chief authority against the theory of environment, discusses mental heredity in a rather reserved and cautious way in his latest work, and accentuates strikingly the importance of environment.<sup>13</sup>

Certainly also the forces of environment and of education must not be over-emphasized. Surroundings and up-bringing are of little regard when neither disposition nor susceptibility is present. The main error of certain heredity fanatics is that they view predisposition in a too restricted sense. This even as regards physical life is untenable to-day. The botanist A. v. Tschermack declared: "Almost every cell, at least among many animals and plants, is capable of much more than it normally shows. In every single organism there slumber usually a host of other evolutionary,

or at least functional possibilities." Therefore Hueppe, though rather a believer in race, considers possible even the inheritance of acquired characteristics in the sense that latent qualities may become manifest. However, we may assume that the soul of man is still much richer in possibilities of development than are physical organisms.

One of the gravest self-deceptions of the race theorists consists in the view that complicated social and historical traits are held to be race tendencies. He who does not see that such things as sense of truth, or duty, tolerance, political consciousness or commercial capacity are products of a long historical development and not innate tendencies, must be ignorant of history.

If race tendencies were stronger than history how can the character and cultural differences and political antagonisms among people who, racially, are almost one, e.g. Swedes and Norwegians,<sup>14</sup> Swiss and Tyrolese, Czechs and Slovaks, Servians and Croatians be explained? Why have the English and the Northern Germans, both being to a large extent of almost the same racial stock, developed widely divergent philosophies of politics and ethics? Why did the Flemish Belgians break away from the Netherlands in the revolution of 1830, and why could the Norwegians not live together with the Swedes in the same state? Certainly race differences hardly counted in all these cases, yet differences in character and fundamental views played a great part.

It is possible to prove in different fields that, apart from pathological cases, environment is stronger than natural tendencies. Even sexual character, surely a fundamental fact of nature, is no exception. It is generally taken for granted that man and woman represent psychologically quite different beings, that in woman in particular gifts of genius or even every predisposition towards higher mental activity are wanting. Impartial inquiry, however, shows that this is prejudice to justify masculine superiority, as race theories are destined to justify scientifically the oppression of certain peoples or classes. Though there are, of course, certain differences, yet it can be proved irrefutably that much that is considered specially feminine is the result of social and historical conditions, in other words of environment. Under other conditions the picture changes completely and so-called feminine qualities appear as masculine and vice versa.<sup>15</sup>

Criminal statistics essentially give the same result. In former times colonies were often populated by criminals and all manner of rabble, a great part of Australia and Brazil, for example. The

transportation of convicts to New South Wales lasted till 1848, to Tasmania till 1853, to Western Australia till 1868, and in all 140,000 persons were deported. Then came a stream of gold diggers who also were a somewhat rough lot. And yet the Australians show no great signs of the after effects of these less worthy elements. Haycraft asserts that this is due to the fact that the criminals drank themselves to death.<sup>16</sup> We may perhaps rather assume that the wasters were improved by hard work in the new world. Mark Twain says somewhere that in good Australian society it is considered in bad taste to inquire who one's grandfather was. Of the lower people in Brazil an authority says they are the happiest lot of people on earth, and he depicts them in a very friendly light.<sup>17</sup>

#### CASTE ; NOBILITY

If, further, personal value were to depend on race, breeding experience with castes, nobility, and hereditary professions would show more favourable results.<sup>18</sup> In reality the severe exclusiveness of such groups has always led to mental sterility and ossification. The higher nobility has usually tried to form a sort of caste and mostly only married within its own circle. However, many noble families in the Middle Ages sprang from bond servants who by serving their kings or princes in war and peace gradually rose to high rank. Later also race purity could never be strictly preserved. Inclination and material reasons often broke through the principle of equality of birth. Moreover, the nobility felt itself to be an international caste, considering marriage with the middle class of its own country as *mésalliance* but not that with the nobility of other peoples. It should be called to mind that the most illustrious nobility of the world and that culturally most meritorious, the English nobility, which to-day in spite of all democratization supplies distinguished leaders to the Conservative as well as to the Liberal party, has never recognized the strict legal principle of equal birth, and English kings have even married middle class wives. The English nobility has always absorbed members of the middle class who rose by their talents or by luck, and the descendants of these even form the majority of the present English aristocracy. On the other hand the younger sons of the nobility entered the middle class, as apart from a few exceptions only the eldest inherited title and fortune. Thus the English nobility has been a living limb of the whole people and therefore could hold a position powerful and culturally important, while the Continental nobility which,



according to the principle of birth cultivated "race" and according to the race theorists is the purest specimen of Teutonic blood, forms for the most part a striking contrast of political blindness, unprogressiveness, and cultural sterility, especially in Germany, where pride of caste and birth were carried to absurd extremes.<sup>19</sup>

#### GENIUS, HEREDITY, AND ENVIRONMENT

The apostles of the hereditary theory lay special value on the facts which show genius as a product of heredity. But as against this there is overwhelming evidence that real genius is very rarely inherited. Even the ancients noticed this.<sup>20</sup> The heredity theory pettifoggers explain uncomfortable cases by declaring that genius is not a single tendency, but arises out of a happy combination of a number of qualities in which the inheritance factors even of distant progenitors play a part. If then a genius has intellectually average or less than average children this is put down to the chance combination of unfavourable hereditary qualities, and in the contrary case it is a triumphant proof of heredity. Such a method on the face of it is self-deception.

Naturally one can accept as having very great probability that in the formation of genius and talent the hereditary factor plays a part. Only exaggerated statements are wrong, e.g. that heredity is everything, environment nothing, or that even complicated mental characters can be inherited. The falsity of the first supposition is proved particularly by the fact, hitherto little noticed, that *men of genius appear mostly in groups*. Every people has its century of genius, the glory of which is its greatest pride. With the Greeks it was the fifth century (and its aftermaths), then came the time of Christ and Augustus, the Crusades, the Renaissance, the great century of "enlightenment". All these were cosmopolitan epochs in which different centres of culture came into fruitful contact, in which belief in spiritual progress, freedom, humanity, awakened enthusiasm, in which the example of the high cultural development of certain nations spurred the energies of the other just awakening peoples to noble rivalry. Very often also great interminglings between the people took place. This phenomenon of "great centuries" shows that genius cannot be separated from environment. Is it conceivable, for example, that the astounding number of great thinkers, poets, artists, and statesmen that appeared in the eighteenth century in all civilized lands was due to a happy combination of heredity factors? <sup>21</sup> A biological explanation of this intellectual phenomenon seems about as scientific as an

astrological one by the constellation of the stars. Certainly the circumstances of the times, though they may not have created genius, must have made it easier for men of great gifts to mature, to become famous, to accomplish their highest. I have compiled a list of almost 200 leading men of genius in the eighteenth century which could easily be doubled if one added names which belong in reality to the period although their lives do not fall within the century, or if one added other great though less known names.

#### THE CONCEPTIONS OF RACE CHARACTER

All the foregoing conclusions show that environment is a more important factor than the race theorists allow. Their second fundamental thesis must now be examined, namely the belief in uniform hereditary race character. There are different conceptions of race character, which, however, are often not kept strictly asunder. Firstly, opinions are at variance as to whether race character consists in

- (a) higher ideas, like God, duty, honour, etc. ;
- (b) elementary or complex psychical forces, e.g. sensation, imagination, feeling, aspiration, attention, memory, fancy, reflexion ;
- (c) instincts and impulses, e.g. sexual impulse, acquisitive desire, artistic instinct, fighting instinct, etc. ;
- (d) temperament—a highly controversial and indistinct notion but which somehow serves to express the dynamics of the mind, the peculiarity of its functioning in contrast with the more static conception.

In addition, race theories differ in still another way. They either assume a qualitative or a purely quantitative or a distributive difference in race tendencies.

Qualitative difference may be defined as the conception that in one race every individual has tendency (a), in another every individual tendency (b). Quantitative difference expresses the view that the same tendencies appear here and there, but in different degrees of intensity, one individual of the one race showing two (a), one of the other race only (a). Distributive difference can be defined as the view that the difference lies in the varying frequency of the appearance of special types, that e.g. in one race 80 per cent of the individuals are types (a), in another race only 5 per cent.

Finally the tendencies may either be supposed to be practically unchangeable, or such as may develop in time according to prevailing conditions.

From this arise many combinations which, however, do not all play a rôle, and further numerous transitions.

### QUALITATIVE RACE DIFFERENCES

Differences in certain elementary qualities or tendencies would be conceivable if it could be accepted that races are the pure offspring from pairs of equally gifted ancestors. History shows, however, that such is never the case. Every historical race seems already to have absorbed other elements, which cannot have been all of a superior or inferior mental type. Within each race of any importance are found all degrees of capacities, although the highest can only develop under exceptional circumstances. Mere shades of mental endowment can scarcely be described as race characteristics, any more than slight variations of a definite hair colour.

The view would seem more probable that originally almost identical races were developed in different directions by different conditions of life, for example, by means of natural and social selection. Certainly life in a desert or primeval forest requires other talents than the modern industrial environment demands. Yet, if such was the case, there must also be a great variability of mental types, enabling races to adapt themselves quickly to new conditions. This is proved by history in the case of many races and, of course, we can only speak here of historical races, on which we have sufficient observations for closer study and comparison.

According to the simplest and most widespread view the black, white, and yellow races are mentally as different as the colour of their skins; a rather materialistic theory though its believers used to assert that they were idealists. In one race faithfulness, profound feeling, idealism, etc., are inborn, in another hypocrisy, superficiality, materialism, and so on. The holders of this view dare very often to state apodictically the race of a historical person or the racial origin of a special trait in his character, because they suppose that certain mental characteristics are typical for distinct races. It has been pretended, for example, that Jesus can have been no Jew as his spirit did not agree with the preconceived idea of Judaism. A certain knightly hero or a pioneer in a cultural sphere must have Nordic blood in him even if he was born black or yellow. Naturally under such suppositions a change in race character either by race selection or by adaptation seems difficult, because it would presuppose a certain variability of types.



Such an ideology is blind to the simple fact that in every people and in every race many types are found and that nobody can say which is the true racial one. Is Goethe the typical German or Ludendorff, Herder or Hitler? Is English character reflected in Northcliffe<sup>22</sup> or in the Quakers?; the French in Jaurès or Montaigne, or among the raging chauvinists? And such contradictions lie within each racial or national unit, even within each individual. We are inclined, for example, to reproach certain peoples, e.g. the Chinese and Turks, with cruelty, and it is quite easy to quote many instances in proof of it, but every careful study shows just as many opposite characteristics. The Turks generally dislike hunting, which they regard as cruelty to animals; they love to set birds free (which are offered for sale everywhere for that purpose); they generally were much kinder to their slaves than white planters. The Chinese have a repugnance to blood, wherefore even operations are abhorred; they are peace-loving in the extreme; their love of family appears to us as absurdly exaggerated; and they are very fond of animals. One sees Chinese carrying round their singing birds in cages as we take children for a walk. Thus one may collect reports concerning the character of a people made by quite reliable observers and find they are poles apart. The only possible conclusion therefore is that certain traits are not deep-rooted race characteristics but mere habits, which under given circumstances arise and disappear and which may easily contradict each other.

Further, a wider look into history teaches that people change their mental habits in a short time without any question of a change of race. Often enough Cæsar and Tacitus have been cited to prove the constancy of the race characteristics of the Gauls and German peoples, but J. M. Robertson and W. D. Babington have shown that this conclusion is without foundation.<sup>23</sup> The old Germanic peoples in their bear skins, who considered work the greatest disgrace, would have laughed not a little at the suggestion of considering modern German or English business activity as a race virtue. The modern Germans represent a complete conversion from extreme individualism to the strictest of State worship, from cosmopolitanism to nationalism, from a people of poets and thinkers to machine-like factory workers and soldiers. R. Michels says that Genovesi in 1820 wrote that the Germans would never be able to develop a trade and commerce or produce a population like the French and English, and a German writer when he first heard of railways being built was of the opinion that such things

were of no good in Germany, because the German character was too easy going. The Slavs, whom one has often accused of lacking statesmanlike qualities, have proved the contrary.<sup>24</sup> In the Bible the Jews appear at certain stages as a warlike and peasant folk with no inclination for commerce. Their descendants differ widely from the old Maccabees and oil planters ; but many Jews are turning back consciously to the old ideals ; indeed, when occasion offers they fall into vices diametrically opposed to the previous ones.

The Anglo-Saxons came as bold sea-farers to England, but in a short time they seem to have lost all inclination to the sea, and recovered it only at a much later period. Treitschke points out that the inhabitants of the south-east of England were for centuries progressive, while the raw north-west was reactionary,<sup>25</sup> but as soon as the age of iron and coal began and the north-west was industrialized the rôles were reversed. The sterility of modern England as regards music is one of the most remarkable phenomena ; a gifted publicist called his book about England *The Land Without Music*. Moreover, musical talent is almost always considered a product of heredity, owing nothing to the force of environment. But old England was very musical ; it has been discovered lately that music flourished there much earlier than on the Continent. Puritan zealotism fairly killed it.<sup>26</sup> David Hume says that a century ago the English burned with religious fervour, while now of all peoples on the earth they show the coolest indifference.<sup>27</sup> When Hume wrote these lines John Wesley had already begun his religious revival which within a short space of time produced a flaming devotion. Hume thought, too, that of all peoples the English had the least national character, for the constitution gave to each class, party, and sect the most absolute freedom of development.

Professor Paul Seippel has shown in his valuable work on France <sup>28</sup> that different mental types appear in her history which indeed show also certain resemblances through a common national tradition. Finally reference should be made to Billeter's learned work on the *Essence of Hellenism*,<sup>29</sup> in which countless opinions of the greatest Greek scholars on the true Greek character are quoted. They are hopelessly at variance with one another, because the Greeks also displayed the most diverse individualities (as Theophrastus long ago remarked).

All races of the world in the same circumstances and at the same stage of development show often most surprising similarities, as ethnology, sociology, and history have convincingly proved.

## DISTRIBUTIVE RACE CHARACTER

In most scientific writings we frequently find a conception of race character which may be called distributive.<sup>30</sup> It admits that in all races about the same tendencies are partly developed and partly latent, but in varying proportions, so that in one race type (*a*) is predominant, in another type (*b*) is specially frequent. According to this theory there also exist minority types which by means of historical selection become the ruling type, thus opening up the possibility of a complete change of race character. It is often assumed that in the course of history, through wars, feuds, and revolutions, the warlike aristocracy is completely wiped out from among a people so that only the peace-loving residuum remains. Therefore it also becomes impossible to state the racial origins of individual types, for every type appears in different races.

This view is a concession to the multiplicity and changeableness of type. It is, however, in contradiction to the biological race conception, and this has curiously enough not yet been noticed. No anthropologist could begin his definition of a race thus: the colour of the skin varies from white to black, the shape of the skull from extreme longheadedness to extreme broadness and so on. Variations within a race cannot be so widely divergent, else it is not a race but a mixture of races. But we find within the same physical types the greatest diversity of mental traits. Among the fair-haired, blue-eyed, long skulled race there are soft dreamy temperaments and hard, keen, money and power hunters,<sup>31</sup> exactly as among other races. The acceptance of a distributive race character therefore denies the notion of race as laid down by natural science.

## THE TEMPERAMENT DOCTRINE

The theory of temperament as a race characteristic is very old and widespread. It differs from other conceptions in that it does not consider complex ideas and formed character as inborn, but as a certain rhythm of the soul rooted in conditions of the body, which by culture may allow manifold intellectual developments. The sanguine temperament, for example, is compatible with love of peace or of war, with high or low ideals, with a sense for art or the opposite. In the term "sanguine temperament" there is nothing which excludes any of these characteristics. Many brilliant writers, especially in France, have tried to explain the whole disposition and ideology of a people through temperament, in which connexion the most daring speculations have been made.<sup>32</sup>



The same objections may be brought against such exaggerations which have already been discussed. Moreover, the temperament doctrine is often found in such close connexion with the environment theory that it is impossible to establish exactly whether the author ascribes more influence to the one factor or the other, or whether he considers temperament as really racial (i.e. inherited) or as a product of climate.

The theory of temperament is very old. The Chinese believe that a male and a female principle compose the universe, with which certain notions of temperament are connected. They believe that the female is cold and moist and the male warm and dry, a theory also found in Heraclitus and Hippocrates.<sup>33</sup> In modern times characteristical speculations assert a mixture of certain characteristics of both sexes in every individual, and this finds a certain proof in the theory of heredity and embryology.<sup>34</sup> Often enough they also speak of male and female, active and passive races. Bismarck once said: "The Germans, the Teutonic race, are the male principle, which strides through Europe fructifying. The Celts and Slavs are the female part."<sup>35</sup>

Hippocrates may be regarded as the founder of the temperament theory and his teaching was continued chiefly by Galen. According to these there are four temperaments, the sanguine, the choleric, the phlegmatic, and the melancholic, and these they brought into connexion with the four saps or humours of the body, as with the four elements, the four astrological quarters of the world, and the four origins of sickness. According to Plato there are three parts in the soul complex which localize in the brain, heart, and liver, and he explains inner conflicts and character divergencies as their disagreements.<sup>36</sup> Aristotle taught that climate decides the temperature and thickness of the blood, the inner warmth, and with it the mental abilities.<sup>37</sup> He considered all northern races on account of their excessive inner heat unfitted for higher mental activity and political organization. Galen agrees with him.

The doctrine of four temperaments has found followers even in quite recent times, e.g. Immanuel Kant.<sup>38</sup> He bases his division on the combination of the tempers. This philosopher is also inclined to accept inborn racial tendencies of peoples, yet he insists that the acquired character may overcome inherited temperament. Linnæus divides mankind into four main races, the choleric American, the sanguine European, the melancholic Asiatic, and the phlegmatic African. W. Wundt likewise accepts four temperaments. Temperament is brought into connexion

with the strength and velocity of nerve vibrations. The choleric is strong and quick, the phlegmatic weak and slow. Jodl conceives temperament as velocity of active reaction, but remarks that temperament is rather a popular than a scientific mode expression.<sup>39</sup> Other views are put forward by Herbart, Bahnsen, Ebbinghaus, Neumann, Elsenhans, Lipmann, Kerschensteiner, Ewald. Finally we mention the research work of certain French scholars, namely Perez, Ribot, Paulhan, Fouillée, Malapert,<sup>40</sup> who try to build their classifications of temperament on quite new bases.<sup>41</sup>

What temperament really is in spite of all efforts still remains rather indefinite, and every attempt to turn definitions to practical use leads to contradiction as, for example, when Ribot pictures sensitive people as brooding pessimists and Fouillée calls them superficial optimists. As a result the whole doctrine of temperament has in recent times been considered out of date and unscientific. But here again a change is coming in line with the development of modern medicine. The inborn character is considered more and more as an important factor in the origin of certain illnesses, and at the same time the old humoural doctrine of Hippocrates is reviving to some extent in a quite new form in so far as great weight is laid on the hormones, or inner secretions, of the human constitution.<sup>42</sup> Different classifications of the constitution were proposed as, for example, a respiratory, a digestive, a muscular, and a cerebral type. Interesting studies on the human frame, temperament, and character were made by E. Kretschmer.<sup>43</sup> He starts from psychiatry and believes that the two forms of normal temperaments, the *zyklothymics* and the *schizothymics*, correspond to the two main groups of mental diseases which are again subdivided and appear in numerous combinations. Types of temperament seem primarily to be the result of the humours and they express themselves in the physical build and physiognomy. The *zyklothymics* mostly have moderate sized pycnic stature, broad faces, are corpulent, friendly, capable of enjoyment, energetic, practical folk, realists, empiricists, humorists, etc. On the contrary, the *schizothymics* belong to the slender, asthenic or muscular type, often produce peculiar profiles, thin, long noses and receding chins. Their mental make-up is that of the idealist dreamer, the romanticist, the formal artist, expressionist, ironist, egoist, and eccentric, they include heroic ascetics, political fanatics, despots, and cold calculating minds. The appearance of many men of genius seems to confirm these views. Kretschmer's work is full of interest but needs much closer

examination. However, he does not apply his types to race differences, but other authors have compared the "pycnic" type to the Alpine race, the schizothymics to the northern race.

It appears indeed that among all peoples there are great diversities of temperament, though probably in very varied ratios.<sup>44</sup> Certainly there are people like the Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, German, and English who give one the impression of being preponderantly phlegmatic, while the Italian, French, and Jewish are often distinguished by an exuberant temperament.<sup>45</sup> Temperament in the sense of mental speed can doubtless produce violent antipathies, which can contribute to race hatred. Slow, clumsy and agile, nervous people get on each other's nerves. Unfortunately we do not know how far it is here a question of race tendencies or only of deep-rooted national traditions, the product of education. Among the phlegmatic English and Germans sometimes a neurasthenic nationalism and exalted religious devotion can be observed, while as shown in their own satiric literature the heavy humdrum type appears among the nervous French and Italians. Danes and Norwegians speak almost the same language and racially are closely related, but the Norwegian temperament is described as heavy, broody, "primitive Teutonic," while the Danes are said to be of a liveliness resembling the French. A similar contrast is observed between closely related Slav nations, e.g. Czechs and Poles, Servians and Croatians. The causes are obviously to be traced in historical, economic, and social development. It has often been asserted that in every nation the southerners are more lively than the northerners. Changes of temperament, too, are perceptible in the course of time. The fidgety Jew learns quickly, as soon as he has made his fortune and entered good society, how to imitate the nonchalant behaviour and affected lack of temperament of the aristocracy. In short, here also environment seems to play a large part, though we should not go so far as to deny innate temperament as a factor altogether.

#### EVOLUTION AND TRADITION

The evolutionary conception consists in the supposition that there are inherited diversities of racial talents, but that these represent only graded steps in a chain of development. According to this view, races would not be equal but capable in the course of development of becoming equal. Here again it is a question not of absolute but of approximate and possible equality, which is



the psychological foundation of actual and modern social co-operation. History seems to prove that the mental outfit of the human race is under certain conditions extraordinarily quick in adapting itself, though it is doubtful whether habits so acquired are transmitted by heredity. On the other hand, there is also a very powerful tendency in man to stick to traditional habits of life. This is the case with national traditions too and is very often taken as a proof of racial inheritance.

Jacobins and Bolsheviks would root out every trace of the hated monarchical tradition, yet in their political systems the features of their national absolutism and imperialism reappeared. So stubbornly does man cling to his habits that he retains them even when he has lost every remembrance of their former meaning. Our mental life is full of inheritance from ancient days not yet explained. Why is marriage among brothers and sisters forbidden? How did the kiss arise? It could not have been instinct, as many historical and ethnological examples show. Tradition stretches over enormous epochs. Two thousand years B.C. an unknown race descended into the Italian plains from the Alps and brought their acquired habits down from the Alpine lakes or from Hungary with them. Their habit of living in pile dwellings they continued to cling to when they were no longer settled on the water, even when they lived on hill tops (Terramare civilization<sup>46</sup>). This civilization was the mother of that of Rome, the Pontifex took his name from the bridge which led to all the pile dwellings, and even to this day the Roman Pope bears this ancient title which lost its original meaning thousands of years ago. The Stone Age peoples of Europe strewed red earth on their dead to give them blood, life, and strength in the other world, as also other races in different continents were doing. Likewise a triumphant Roman general had to paint himself with red lead like a Sioux chief, and apparently this is the origin of the custom which makes the lords of the earth, the emperors, kings, cardinals, and generals wear purple.<sup>47</sup>

The members of the higher classes shudder at the sight of horse flesh when they recognize it, without knowing that this goes back to the time when the Church forbade the Germanic peoples the use of horse flesh for their heathen sacrifices. Similar reasons explain the Jewish prohibition of pork. Very primitive ideas lie at the bottom of circumcision, communion, etc. Is it not remarkable that the Jews who were driven from Spain and Western Germany to the East of Europe in the Middle Ages still cling to their Spanish

or German speech in its old form? Thousands of similar examples might be cited as proof of the power of tradition.

Tradition would lead to complete fossilization if humanity were not compelled to develop new habits through great geological and climatic changes, through the growth of population and insufficiency of the means of subsistence, through invasions by other peoples or contact with foreign ideas: but tradition also may lead to a change of habits, as often people are bound by the unintentional results of their actions, e.g. kings had sometimes to compel their resisting subjects to appear in Parliament to sanction taxes, whereafter these subjects came gradually to the modern idea of political freedom and developed that very parliamentarism which robbed the king of power. Wundt calls this the law of Heterogony of Aims,<sup>48</sup> and he sees in it a great motive force of moral development. Want of tradition may at certain stages advance civilization, and we understand Goethe's verses on America having it better than our old Continent as it lacked the burdens of history and useless inherited strife. Yet higher progress is only accomplished by its linking up with mental tradition, which indeed is not to be mistaken for the stupid conservatism of outlived forms.

All theories of race commit the unpardonable error of mixing up tradition and instinct. Until the eighteenth century French culture was rightly held by the Germans as a model, being far superior to their own. This advance dated very far back. Even prehistoric research shows us that the territory of present-day France was culturally far in advance in the oldest observed periods of human civilization.<sup>49</sup> Apparently the early blossoming of France was due to the fact that in the Ice Age a great part remained uncovered by the ice masses such as long retarded every development in the Alpine lands, Germany, and North Europe. Of course, the favourable conditions for traffic, the climate, the fruitfulness and the history of France and before all the Roman, Italian, and Arabian cultural influence also played a great part. Now narrow-minded French writers, filled with national conceit, have brought forward this later development of the Germans and North Europeans as proof of race inferiority, just as Aristotle denied the northern peoples all possibility of higher civilization on account of the climatic psychological conditions. In 1671 the Jesuit Dominique Bouhours denied that a German could have spirit because the rough temperament and massive build of the northerners prevented it. The Academician J. Barbier d'Aucour, J. F. Cramer, and C. Thomasius protested in several books against this affront to the Germans.<sup>50</sup>

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the famous Professor Walch in Jena passed a very derogatory judgment on the Swedes in his philosophical lexicon, putting forward that the thick air of Sweden prevented every mental development. J. Friedrich Kruger wrote a book against him refuting severely this race theory. Kruger remarked that the Swedes, especially in Germany and France, were considered as quite barbaric and even as "beasts without reason". Naturally it was not difficult to show up these foolish allegations in their true light.<sup>51</sup> The gigantic step forward of German culture in the time of Goethe made the old French lead vanish rapidly, and in many respects placed Germany in the first place. Sweden also has for long been in the front row of civilized nations; one can even say that in many points it outdistances the great militaristic states.

#### IS RACE ANTIPATHY A NATURAL LAW?

Along with the idea of race character that of an inborn race feeling plays a part. It is said that blood relationship is instinctively recognized while race strangers show an instinctive abhorrence to each other. Race hatred is thus pronounced "scientifically" as a law of nature. Indeed the more untenable race theories are shown to be in the light of scientific criticism the more race theories love to make use of the "Voice of Blood" which enables them without more ado to feel that all great men of genius were surely Nordic, even when we know absolutely nothing about their appearance or their forefathers. In the same way they smell out the foreign enemy. Therefore all race theorists and especially Houston Stewart Chamberlain speak scathingly of reason and science and hold up instinct as infallible.

Even if a race instinct could be proved scientifically this would be no judgment in favour of race hatred, for in the end all progress rests on the taming and restraint of natural instincts. Apparently cannibals would try to justify their inclinations as instinct. But it is clear that the acceptance of an inborn race feeling or a repulsion is untenable. Such an instinct would first of all make parents and children, or brothers and sisters recognize each other by the voice of blood, which is in no wise the case. History offers innumerable examples of the fact that closely related peoples were the bitterest foes, Germans and Danes, Germans and English, Germans and French, Poles and Russians, Serbs and Croats. On the other hand we see that simple people who have not been artificially infected by national and racial ideas have no such



antipathies even when the physical differences are very great. Although the Huns are represented as very ugly devils we find among the old Germans few traces of a race antipathy towards them. The daughters of German princes married Hunnish chiefs—the *Nibelungs* song, which represents the views of mediaeval chivalrous society, tells of King Attila's marriage to Kriemhild and pictures the king of the Huns as a noble knightly prince, "one of the most worthy kings that ever lived," although it accents the difference between heathen and Christian. In *Waltharius* he is described in like manner.<sup>52</sup> We have many proofs that in the Middle Ages there was scarcely any real race antipathy between Nordics and Arabs.<sup>53</sup> Brotherhoods were often established between Christian and Arab knights, there were marriages even between the princely houses, and the thought found utterance that all men were brothers.<sup>54</sup> We more often find an expression of strong antipathy between German and Italian, German and Slav, which, however, was founded in political conflicts.<sup>55</sup> In the Orient there is still to-day no race feeling against free coloured peoples, but there are sharp cultural, religious, and traditional enmities between peoples who are racially near relations, between peasants and nomads, which often resemble fanatical race hatred.<sup>56</sup> As to modern America, W. Ripley affirms that there is no physical antipathy between the different peoples.<sup>57</sup> Opposition to mixed marriages between groups of people rests, according to Ripley, chiefly on social differences. His observations, however, chiefly concern emigrants from Europe.

It is further noticeable that among many peoples certain occupations are held in general contempt, though we are not able to recognize the reason. Among primitive peoples smiths and weavers are often considered inferior, and in mediaeval Germany millers, surgeons, tanners and linen-weavers were despised. Our nobility considered even the mentally most prominent non-nobles of their own nation as of unequal birth or of inferior blood and often could not conclude a true marriage with them. Such social traditions easily lead to an instinctive antipathy quite resembling race contempt. Indians and Polynesians are recognized by modern Europeans as of equal birth. Many race-proud Americans consider an admixture of Red Indian blood as not degrading and even aristocratic, but a mixture of Negro blood is abhorrent. Apparently this is to be explained by the fact that the Negroes were slaves, but the Red Indians and Polynesians were not. The great sociologist, Max Weber, proves convincingly<sup>58</sup> that race feeling very often springs from historical class separation, or from the purely

imaginary belief of being related or not and from a desire to be something better than socially inferior classes. He says rightly that everywhere often just radical nationalists are of foreign descent. Renegades and converts persecute their former brothers in faith and blood in the most violent manner. Very often social, economic, religious, and racial differences create an instinctive antipathy which is then interpreted as a purely racial one.

Equality of rank, property, beauty, charm, and spirit have often proved themselves stronger than racial instincts. We could mention many cases where European scholars or aristocrats have married Japanese women. Innumerable aristocrats have married Jewesses. A Hamburg merchant and patrician Ruete married a daughter of the Sultan of Zanzibar, who by her great mental gifts was appreciated very much at the Imperial Court of Germany: she was a friend of the Empress Frederic and has written her life.<sup>59</sup> Peter the Great had a Negro Hannibal whose high degree of intelligence brought him to be artillery engineer general and a great estate owner and who married a noble Russian lady. His grandson was the greatest of Russian poets Pushkin.<sup>60</sup> Another Negro, Soliman, in the eighteenth century was prominent at the Viennese Court, and he as well as his daughter married aristocrats.<sup>61</sup> These cases are worthy of note and show how greatly race arrogance has grown in a hundred years, for to-day such things would be scarcely possible. Some years ago at an anthropological congress a professor from Germany demanded the public whipping of white women who either in legal or free marriage lived with Negroes, a proof that there is at least one inferior race in the world, namely, certain race doctrinaires.

### RACE HATRED AND WORLD HISTORY

A certain aversion to all that is foreign appears to exist in human and even in animal nature. Animals which are put into a new herd or a common cage are often brutally treated by their own kind and on occasion even killed.<sup>62</sup> But this feeling soon disappears, and not seldom quite remarkable friendships and signs of a sympathetic feeling can be observed among animals which are enemies by instinct, e.g. among dogs and cats or cats and birds.<sup>63</sup>

Many sociologists take it for granted that race hatred in the mere sense of aggressiveness and rapacity towards everything foreign irrespective of whether the foreigner is of the same race or not is the driving motive of world history. Ludwig Gumplowicz<sup>64</sup> is one of the chief representatives of this theory. The greater part

of his work is an attempt to refute the monogenistic and to affirm the polygenistic theory. Present races have developed from a great number of small tribes of varied descent, the amalgamation of which is the historical process. Hostile races may in a short time be moulded into one new race and oppose others in the same fierce opposition, until in turn it succumbs to a conquering people and comes into the melting pot of amalgamation. Nature's wisdom has carefully laid this feeling of hatred in the breast of humanity. The most important difference between man and animal is that only the former has the capacity to rule and plunder his kind.<sup>65</sup> This plundering, be it the preying on, enslavement or imposition of tributes, etc., has always been the aim of human endeavour, and is also to-day at the bottom of every war. The decisive point is, however, that this plundering impulse is always directed against the foreigner, that it is felt as race hatred. It always leads to the subjugation of weaker tribes and states. As soon as the victor has gained his end he seeks to stabilize his domination by the ideologies of state, nationality, right, religion, etc., which are all means to the end of securing the domination in the interests of the lords, though some advantages at least also accrue to the conquered from the preservation of order. Class and social standing, too, go back to original race differences which have mostly been covered by the cunning victor with the veil of common nationality, often by adopting the language of the vanquished. Gumplowicz is, however, far removed from the hypocrisy of those who see in oppression a benefit for the oppressed. Moral judgment does not come into his range of vision, all human races appear to him equally brutal, greedy, jealous of power and filled with race hatred. But this hate is the tool of nature in the great melting process of the races which is history. However, we cannot recognize any aim in this process. Considerable cultural progress is not allotted to humanity, the eternal circle of enslaving and being enslaved is its fate. The pessimistic wisdom of the preacher, "All is vanity," appears to Gumplowicz to be the highest within men's reach, the principal gain of sociology.

There is certainly a grain of truth in these theories which have been put forward with so much boldness and merciless openness. But Gumplowicz exaggerates race hatred; he holds that the impulse to subdue is inborn in man, while it is mostly outward circumstances which drive men to the sword. Among primitive peoples, so long as the necessities of life are at hand there is no need for plunder. The battles of these peoples are a matter of pasture



lands, cattle, slaves, women, and salt. In dry Australia it was water which caused the most feuds, and the enemy was sometimes eaten, possibly for want of game. But when the bunga bunga tree is laden with fruit so that there is plenty, foreign tribes may also partake.

Ethnology provides many proofs that just the most primitive tribes are comparatively peaceful, indeed often knowing nothing of war. Only their conversion to agricultural or to nomadic life, or the growing dearth of homeland, give rise to increasing warlike squabbles. Ratzel says of the conditions in America, "The battle of race is above all a fight for land. One may call special attention to the fact that there are also peaceful people and rulers among the primitive folk. Nor let us forget that the bloodiest and most destructive wars were not those fought among these peoples themselves, but those with Europeans, and that nothing kindled such violence and cruelty among them as the desire for profit among these highly civilized strangers, whose slave trading caused horrible slave hunting." <sup>66</sup>

In many of the Kurgan graves of Russia, as well as in some other prehistoric places, there are no weapons. The old Slavs were apparently a peaceful people, as one learns from a Byzantine document. According to Ross the Eskimos of Baffin Bay do not know what war is. Rasmussen, on the other hand, found extremely hostile and violent Eskimo tribes. Of the primitive Weddas one reads: "At bottom the Wedda is not of an aggressive but of a defensive character, through and through peace-loving, disposed to mildness, and as harmless and peaceable as possible. Therefore one finds also among them a hospitality and feeling for necessitous strangers." <sup>67</sup> The Tierra del Fuegians also are represented as peace-loving. Moreover, everywhere strangers who ask for protection are inviolable nearly everywhere, and this too contradicts the supposition that race hatred is inborn. <sup>68</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup> Erwin Baur, Eugen Fischer, Fritz Lenz, *Grundriss der menschlichen Erblichkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene*, 2nd ed., 1923, 2 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Numerous attempts have been made to establish the acuteness of sense perceptions among primitive peoples, but they have differed very much and led to no uniform conclusion. Cf. Thurnwald, *Psychologie des primitiven Menschen*; also Basler, *Rassenphysiologie*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Baur, Fischer, Lenz, vol. i, pp. 385, 396; also W. Peters, *Ueber Vererbung psychischer Fähigkeiten*, 1915.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. T. Ziehen, *Leitfaden der Physiologischen Psychologie*, 1908, p. 8 ff.; W. Wundt, *Grundriss der Psychologie*, 1907, p. 343; G. Kafka, *Tierpsychologie*, 1922; H. Bergson, *Evolution creatrice*, 1912.

<sup>5</sup> G. Sommer, *Geistige Veranlagung und Vererbung*, 2nd ed., 1919, p. 20, says that the whole manner and order of the psychic development is inherited. In America W. McDougall in his *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 17th ed., 1922, stresses the supreme importance of instinct, and in his book *The Group Mind*, 1921, has also emphasized race. On the other side, Friedrich Jodl, *Lehrbuch der Psychologie*, 1903, vol. i, p. 192, says: "Among men that which he has brought with him as an inherited possession is negligible in comparison with what he assimilates in the course of life from the treasures of human tradition."

<sup>6</sup> Apart from the works already mentioned of Baur, Fischer, Lenz, Sommer, and Peters, compare especially Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*; T. Ribot, *Hérédité Psychologique*, 10th ed., 1914; Heymans and Wiersma in *Zeitschrift f. Psychologie*, vols. xli, xliii, xlvi, and xlvii; K. Bühler, *Geistige Entwicklung des Kindes*, 3rd ed., 1922, p. 36. A good survey of the newest literature is contained in the article by Robert Ambros, "Die Vererbung psychischer Eigenschaften," in *Archiv f. d. ges. Psychologie (Literaturbericht)*, vol. xxviii, 1913, supplement. The newest results are to be found in the report on the Eighth Congress for Experimental Psychology in Leipzig, publ. by K. Bühler, 1924, which gives a number of important contributions, specially one from W. Peters, "Vererbung und Persönlichkeit" (quoted as "Kongressbericht").

<sup>7</sup> Cf. G. Udney Jule in *JAI.*, 1901, p. 325: *On the influence of bias and of personal equation in statistics of ill-defined qualities*. Jule shows experimentally, in opposition to Galton and Pearson, that attempts to measure statistically ill-defined qualities (e.g. mental qualities) are liable to serious errors.

<sup>8</sup> Innumerable professors have married the daughters of other professors, without any specially gifted race being the result.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Erich Marcks, "Bismarck" and different reviews and discussions in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, vols. civ, cvi.

<sup>10</sup> Wundt, *Grundriss der Psychologie*, 8th ed., 1907, p. 345.

<sup>11</sup> Kafka, *Tierpsychologie*, p. 123. Cf. the interesting experiments of the canary breeder, Karl Reich, in *Mitteilungen aus der Vogelwelt*, 1922.

<sup>12</sup> Giese, *Allgemeine Kinderpsychologie*, p. 342.

<sup>13</sup> W. Peters, "Vererbung und Persönlichkeit" in *Kongressbericht*, pp. 57, 58, 73, 75, 135, 139.

<sup>14</sup> Already in early times the three Scandinavian nations, for example, showed distinctly different types of character, so A. Bugge, *Die Wikinger*, 1906.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. especially G. Weiniger, *Sex and Character*, and refutation by Grete Meisel-Hess, *Weiberhass und Weiberverachtung*, 1904, Rosa Mayreder, *Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit*, 1905, Dr. M. Vaerting, *Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib*, 2 vols., 1923. That there are certain differences has been proved experimentally. Cf. W. J. Ruttman, *Die Hauptergebnisse der modernen Psychologie*, 1914, pp. 302-48. But differences are not fundamental.

<sup>16</sup> John B. Haycraft, *Natürliche Auslese und Rassenverbesserung*, 1895. Regarding the Australian criminal colonies, cf. A. Manes, *Der soziale Erdteil*, 1914, pp. 27, 57.

<sup>17</sup> M. Lamberg, *Brasilien, Land und Leute*, 1899, p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. C. Bouglé, *Essai sur le régime des Castes*, 1908.

<sup>19</sup> The splendid rôle played in respect of culture by the English nobility is borne out in the material supplied by F. Galton, *Hereditary Genius*; cf. further, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with lists of their Works*, new ed. Edinburgh, 1796, p. 339. Concerning nobility and race, cf. the interesting book by R. Michels, *Probleme der Sozialphilosophie*, 1914, p. 132 seq., which also contains pertinent remarks on cultural sterility, especially of the German nobility (p. 143). Regarding the repeatedly asserted dying out of noble families, cf. Ribot, p. 370, and Michels.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Plato, *Protagoras*, x.

<sup>21</sup> Sommer (*Kongressbericht*) tried to explain the Renaissance by the crossing of two types, namely the Tuscan nobility and the rising bourgeoisie. But the Renaissance was not limited to Italy (Shakespeare). And what crossings explain the eighteenth century?

<sup>22</sup> German nationalists, of course, are firmly convinced that Northcliffe was of Jewish extraction, which naturally is without foundation.

<sup>23</sup> The main protagonist of race theories in France, Lapouge (*Race et Milieu Sociale*, 1909, pp. 53, 62), takes for granted that the Gallic element in France has almost disappeared. If this were so, the survival of the Gallic national character asserted innumerable times, would be quite inexplicable. As a matter of fact, such legends cast a strong spell on the national spirit. Numerous Frenchmen and still more Germans have tried to emulate the glorified national character of their supposed ancestors in respect of barbarian heroism.

<sup>24</sup> O. Henne am Rhyn (*Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes*, 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 54) says: "History teaches that the character of the Slavs is soft and effeminate. As far as they learned to use masculine energy that seems to go back to Germanic influence, but as far as such energy is coupled with brutality it goes back to Mongolian." This historian completely forgets that the Hussites terrorized the German empire by their victories, that the German Order of Knighthood was completely beaten by the Poles and Lithuanians in 1410, that the Hohenzollerns held East Prussia during the years 1525 to 1657 only in fief from the King of Poland, and that in 1641 Friedrich Wilhelm took the oath of allegiance to the King of Poland in Warsaw, that the King of Poland, J. Sobieski, in 1683 helped decisively to save the German Empire and the whole of Christendom from the Turks, that the Croats were the cream of the Austrian army, and the South Slavs proved often that they had great warlike efficiency.

<sup>25</sup> Treitschke, *Politik*, 1897, vol. i, p. 210.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the chapter on English music in the great history of culture by H. D. Traill and I. S. Mann, *Social England*, 1902, vol. ii, p. 509; vol. iii, p. 147; vol. iv, p. 548.

<sup>27</sup> David Hume, *Philosophical Works*, ed. Green and Grose, 1875, vol. iii, p. 244 (essay 21).

<sup>28</sup> Paul Seippel, *Les deux Frances et leurs origines historiques*, 1905.

<sup>29</sup> G. Billeter, *Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums*, 1911.

<sup>30</sup> The differentiation between elementary and distributive was made by Steinmetz, cf. *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftl. Philosophie und Soziologie*, vol. xxvi, 1902, p. 84. The same idea is given in detail by W. Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, 1911, pp. 303, 389.

<sup>31</sup> Günther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, 1922, p. 142, calls attention to this diversity within the Nordic types. Vierkandt, p. 342, speaks of the shady side of Aryan endowment, namely the weakness of character, the one-sided development of the imagination, the extraordinary passivity of the national spirit among the Indians. But all this is in the greatest contrast to the usual idea of the Aryan character.

<sup>32</sup> H. Taine has here especially sinned, but has also made many worthy observations. His theory of temperament is well criticized by Paul Lacombe, *La psychologie des individus et des sociétés chez Taine, historien des littératures*,



1906, p. 43. Cf. H. Taine, *Sketches on England* (French, 1871, German, 1906); E. Boutmy, *Essai d'une psychologie politique du peuple anglais au 19ième siècle*, 1903; Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, 1911.

<sup>33</sup> *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* by Neuberger and Nagel, 1902, vol. i; this also contains information on the views of the Ancients.

<sup>34</sup> Weiniger, *Geschlecht und Character*; J. Bauer, *Vorlesungen über allgem. Konstitutions- und Vererbungslehre*, 1923, p. 116.

<sup>35</sup> Moriz Busch, *Tagebuchblätter*, 1899, vol. ii, p. 118.

<sup>36</sup> Hans Raeder, *Platons philosoph. Entwicklung*, 1905, p. 214. Similar views are found among the primitive peoples, and the idea that the mingling of races produces conflict in the individual is to-day often discussed, e.g. by A. Fouillée, *Tempérament et caractère selon les individus, les sexes et les races*, 4th ed., 1904, p. 340 seq., and by W. McDougall, *The Group Mind*, 1921, p. 243.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.*, vii, 6, Problems, xiv, 1, 8-16. On the divisions of animals, ii, 2. Further cf. *Œuvres anatomiques, physiologiques et médicales de Galien*, transl. by Daremberg, 1854, vol. i, p. 47 (Treatise on the influence of temperament on morals).

<sup>38</sup> I. Kant, *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht*, 1798 (Works edited by Hartenstein), 1839, vol. x, p. 318.

<sup>39</sup> F. Jodl, *Lehrbuch der Psychologie*, 2nd ed., 1903, vol. ii, p. 400.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. W. J. Ruttman, *Die Hauptergebnisse der modernen Psychologie*, 1914, pp. 266 seq.

<sup>41</sup> Paulin Malapert, *Les éléments du caractère et leurs lois de combinaison*, 1897, pp. 7, 189 seq., and the already mentioned book by Fouillée.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. J. Bauer, *Vorlesungen über allgem. Konstitutions- und Vererbungslehre*, pp. 144, 175. Bauer also makes many remarks on race, types and inner secretions, cf. pp. 152, 159 to 179, 186, 209; cf. J. Paulsen in *AA.*, 1921.

<sup>43</sup> Ernst Kretschmer, *Körperbau und Charakter*, 1921; P. Ewald, *Temperament and Character*, 1924.

<sup>44</sup> A very conscientious observer, Dr. W. Koppers (*Unter Feuerland-Indianer*, 1924, p. 231), says: "If one asks about the temperament of the Jagan people, I think that an almost equal mingling of melancholy and sanguinism is to be observed with also a fair amount of phlegm." A less friendly critic would certainly not have forgotten the choleric, so that all four were present.

<sup>45</sup> Jaensch, "Zur differentiellen Völkerpsychologie" (*Kongressbericht*, p. 177), believes to have found experimentally among French schoolchildren a specially strong stamp of the "eidetic" constitution and of the "basedowoid" type.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri in *JAI.*, 1918, p. 99 seq.

<sup>47</sup> Carl Schuchardt, *Alt-Europa in seiner Kultur- und Stilentwicklung*, 1919, p. 22.

<sup>48</sup> W. Wundt, *Ethik*, 4th ed., 1912, vol. i, p. 284. Wundt also emphasizes the difference between tradition and instinct, the neglect of which is the chief error of race theorists.

<sup>49</sup> H. Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, 1912, pp. 225, 260, 274; M. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*; C. Schuchardt, *Alt Europa*, 1919.

<sup>50</sup> D. Bonhours, *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, 1671; J. Barbier d'Aucour, *Sentiments de Cleanthe sur les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*; J. F. Cramer, *Vindiciæ nominis germanici contra quosdam obrectatores gallos*, 1694.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. J. Krüger, *Untersuchung der Temperamente einer ganzen Nation usw.* (Stockholm und Upsala, 1737).

<sup>52</sup> Nibelungenlied, adventure 20; cf. Waltharius, Latin poem of the tenth century publ. by I. V. Scheffel and A. Holder, 1874.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. K. Breysig, *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 1901, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 737.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1883, pp. 26, 60, 68 seq. In the negotiations between Richard Lion Heart and Sultan Saladin, it was arranged that the sister of the English king should marry a Mohammedan prince. Cf. Memoirs of Almalich Almasir Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, written by Bohadin (German edition, 1790), p. 161. Many Orientals joined up with the returning Crusaders, and from one of them is descended the German family Soldan that has produced a great many scholars.

<sup>55</sup> F. G. Schultheiss, *Geschichte des deutschen Nationalgefühls*, 1893, vol. i.

<sup>56</sup> F. von Luschan, *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, pp. 59, 70, 111.

<sup>57</sup> W. Ripley, "The European population of the U.S.A.," in *JAI.*, 1908, p. 232.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1922, pp. 216 ff., 627 seq.

<sup>59</sup> Emilie Ruete, *From the Life of an Arabian Princess*.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Emilie Haumant, *Pouchkine*, 1911, p. 14 seq.

<sup>61</sup> His life is to be found in Dr. W. Bauer's book, *Angelo Soliman, Der hochfürstliche Mohr*, 1922. After his death and in spite of the opposition of the church he was embalmed and put in a museum at the command of the Emperor.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Arthur Keith's interesting lecture on the "Group spirit among Men and Animals" in *JAI.*, 1916, and Koehler's "Forschungen an Menschenaffen", *ZE.*, 1920-1, p. 464.

<sup>63</sup> In *Mitteilungen aus der Vogelwelt* there is a case of four baby starlings who fell from their nest upon a cat. The cat smelled and licked them and the starlings nestled down. When the mother came the starlings climbed over the recumbent cat to get their food. Moreover, the mother starling was not molested by the cat. There is a fine similar case mentioned by Goethe in Eckermann's *Gesprächen mit Goethe* (8th October, 1827, towards the end of the essay).

<sup>64</sup> L. Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, 1883, *Grundriss der Soziologie*, 1885.

<sup>65</sup> This is not quite exact. Among animals, also, there are domination and exploitation. On the other hand, in the animal world there is also a social life and sympathy, even among race-strange individuals. Cf. Kropotkin, *Mutual Help in Evolution*, Germ. ed., 1904. Kropotkin seeks to prove that even in the animal world altruistic and social feelings are stronger than the struggle for existence.

<sup>66</sup> Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 2nd ed., 1894-5, vol. i, pp. 335, 468, 563. Also Gräbner (in Schwalbe and Gräbner, *Anthropologie*, p. 550) asserts that primitive man on the whole is not warlike. Wanton murder is strange to him. Only on the "higher" levels is the war spirit developed. Cf. Schmidt and Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, vol. i, 1924, p. 188.

<sup>67</sup> Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*, 1909, vol. i, p. 523 (following Sarasin); vol. ii, p. 231, on the old Slavs; cf. also Thurnwald, *Psychologie des primitiven Menschen*, pp. 188, 190, 210.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. many examples in Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i.

## CHAPTER IV

### RACE AND LANGUAGE IN HISTORY

IN considering the race problem in the light of linguistic facts the following questions appear paramount :—

1. Can we infer the race of a people from the language they speak and its history? In particular, do changes in a language presuppose race mixtures and can these be traced?

2. Can the various tongues be traced back to a restricted number of primitive tongues, or even to one original stock?

3. Are languages expressive of differences of racial spirit and racial value?

4. To what degree can former cultural conditions and alien cultural influences be recognized from root affinities, borrowed words, etc.?

Above all, in considering these questions we at once come up against the Indo-European problem which indeed seems the gist of all race problems in a more narrow sense. Instead of "Indo-Germanic" or "Indo-European" we shall for the sake of brevity use the common term "Aryan", though in its true sense it should be applied to the ancient Indians and Iranians only.

#### THE INDO-EUROPEAN PROBLEM<sup>1</sup>

When the linguistic affinity of the great Indo-European family was definitely discovered a sudden light seemed to shine on the relationship of races and the origin of our civilization. The primitive Aryan race from the central tableland of Asia was supposed to have sent forth the successive branches of the European nations. All nations of the Indo-European language family were accepted as essentially of the same blood and spirit. Thus even such a critical spirit as H. Taine maintained that the Aryan race from the Ganges to the Hebrides, in all zones and in every stage of civilization, and after thirty centuries of revolutionary changes, still revealed in its languages, religions, and philosophies a community of blood and mind, which to this very day unites together all its several branches.<sup>2</sup> This naive identification of language and race obtains in wide circles to this very day and not infrequently crops up even in scientific publications.<sup>3</sup>



The conception that the entire civilization of the Indians, Persians, Hellenes, Romans, as also of the Neo-Latin, Teutonic, and Slav nations was the offspring of a single race, made this race appear the most glorious flower of all human stocks, and attempts were not wanting to represent other advanced races, the Semites, Sumerians, Egyptians, Etrurians, Finns, Turks, Chinese, Japanese, Malays, Peruvians, etc., as indebted for their spiritual attainments to the alleged Aryan strain in their blood.<sup>4</sup>

These hypotheses identified unhesitatingly the primal Aryans with the Nordic—the Teutonic—race and efforts were made to prove by linguistics and our knowledge of prehistoric facts that the original home of the Indo-Europeans was Northern Germany or Scandinavia, and that it was from these parts that the oldest culture sent forth its rays. That the first Indo-Europeans were of the Nordic race, as Penka, Kossinna, Much, Wilser, and others assert, does not seem improbable in itself, were it not for a grave argument against this assertion, namely, the fact that it is just the Teutonic language which not only most deviates from the primitive Aryan language, as reconstructed by philologists, but to a large measure is not even derivable from it, a circumstance which surely indicates repeated race crossings.<sup>5</sup> If we should assume that the Teutons on the Baltic and Northern Seas were the unalloyed stock of Aryans still inhabiting their original homes this would be inexplicable. For this same reason some modern anthropologists and linguists, e.g. Sergi, Keane, Brinston, Braun, Michaelis, see in the primeval Indo-Europeans a mixed race of predominantly round skulls, which coming from Asia forced its Indo-European tongue upon the Europeans, including the Nordics.

Many of the advocates for the Nordic descent of the Aryan uphold their thesis with great ardour, betraying by this that they are not moved by scientific reasons but by the incentive of nationalistic conceit for which, however, there seems but little reason. For even granted that the aboriginal Aryans were one with the Nordic race, history shows that far from being the first bringers of civilization, they entered history rather as destroyers, as invading barbarians who adopted only by slow degrees the higher culture of the conquered. These unpleasant facts, however, are ignored as far as possible by such authors. Most of these are Germans who feel exaltation in the idea that the Teutons always have been the active, conquering, constructive element in history, and that all culture is derived from them.<sup>6</sup> One of the latest supporters for this theory in a book published during the World War saw in this

war, too, only the effervescence of the newest Teutonic wave, the outcome of which he believed could be viewed with confidence.<sup>7</sup> However, to-day, and as far as we can look back in history, all nations speaking the Indo-European tongues appear racially very mixed. Indo-European is therefore a mere linguistic conception and only hypothetically can we speak of a primal Aryan race. It is evident that a fair-haired, blue-eyed Finn, whose speech is non-Aryan, is more akin to a Swede or North German of like racial characteristics than these latter are to a South Aryan, let us say a Sicilian, a Greek or a Portuguese, who in many respects will bear more likeness to a Semite or a North African. Blumenbach, the founder of anthropology, called the white race of Europe Caucasians, because the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, above all the Georgians, seemed to him the most perfect expression of this type. But just these are neither Indo-Europeans nor Nordic.

The founder of comparative philology, A. Pott, wrote a book against Gobineau,<sup>8</sup> and other linguistic pioneers, such as Max Müller and O. Schrader, followed suit. Max Müller who in his first writings used to speak of the "Aryan race" manifested later on his change of view by saying that an ethnologist speaking of "Aryan race", "Aryan blood", "Aryan eyes and hair", was as great a sinner as a linguist speaking of a dolichocephalous dictionary or of a brachycephalous grammar. "It is worse," he continued, "than the Babylonian confusion, nay it is even a downright fraud. When I speak of Aryans I mean neither blood nor bones, hair or skull, I simply mean those who speak an Aryan tongue." O. Schrader says: "From the idea of primeval Indo-Europeans we must keep clear all and everything pertaining to the anthropological conception of 'race', i.e. a plurality of entirely homogeneous human beings. . . . It is highly probable that already the first Indo-Europeans were composed of somatically heterogeneous tribes and individuals." Always and everywhere new nations were formed through the blending of old ones, the subjugation or absorption of the one by the others. How could it have happened otherwise under the conditions of old Europe as described in the foregoing with the primeval Indo-European race?

#### MIGRATIONS AND CROSSINGS IN ANCIENT TIMES

The notion that the peoples of the Indo-European language family are also racially of closest homogeneity evidently rests upon a quite mistaken conception of social conditions in the primeval ages. The characteristic features of primitive civilization are

tribalism, the lack of ties between the several tribes, and frequent migrations. Thus Julius Cæsar found the Gauls subdivided into some eighty small states or townships. Their dwellers never scrupled either to call upon alien races for help against their own racial brethren or in aiding the enemy to subdue them. Exactly the same conditions prevailed among the Teuton nations, and therefore the supposition seems warranted that it was chiefly these continuous tribal feuds which constantly made the Teutons overflow the Roman confines like the breakers of the sea. But this was already a more advanced stage of civilization. In still remoter times the diffusion went even further. We only find very small groups, tribes, consisting of a few closely connected families, each of these small tribes forming the germ for a new race and language. According to Pliny, when the Romans were negotiating with the 300 tribes living in the small country of Colchis, they needed 130 interpreters in order to make themselves understood. In California there were found about 150,000 aborigines speaking 135 different languages and dialects belonging to 21 several linguistic families, so that one dialect was spoken by barely more than a thousand people, and each linguistic group numbered but seven thousand.<sup>9</sup> Some known languages are restricted to a small number of families each intelligible to their neighbours only. In primitive times such fragments of tribes were continually shifting, sometimes on natural highways, following rivers or woodless tracts of land, or attracted by rich soil, or they were whirled about like chaff in the wind, pushed up by stronger enemies. The nomad owing to the requirements for food for his cattle is forced to move onward from scantily yielding soil: therefore large tribes cannot be formed. Increase of population leads to further splitting up and the formation of new tribes, who then seek their pastures in more distant regions.

Even more unrestrained than the wandering herdsmen who through their cattle are bound to certain regions, are the hunter nations; and freest of all are the seafaring inhabitants of straggling groups of islands, such as those of the Polynesian Archipelago, which is the most eminent example of this kind.<sup>10</sup> The Malayan-Polynesian tribes in fact have spread over the enormous area of 210° of longitude and 80° of latitude and they covered this extent, as many indications show, in the comparatively short space of time of a few centuries. Ratzel reports cases of smaller groups drifted by the sea-currents over stretches of several thousands of miles; the frequency of such involuntary migrations in many cases accounts for the intermingling of races. Most efficacious, however, in this



respect was deliberate colonization even as early as the Stone Age—a splendid proof of the all-conquering expansiveness of the human race. The Scandinavian Vikings pushed their raids as far as Byzantium; Normans founded a kingdom in Sicily; the Vandals in Africa. In Swedish tombs more than 20,000 Arabian silver coins were found, and these Vikings doubtlessly also carried off very many Eastern women.<sup>11</sup>

Not less far reaching were the migrations of the Red Indian tribes, some of which since their discovery have moved great distances from their original homes. Some tribes used to travel in a single year as many as from 1,500 to 2,000 kilometres for the purpose of buffalo hunting. The war-path led these tribes even farther, and this always brought with it an intermixture of tribes. Nomads will perform a ten or twenty days' journey for the mere sake of robbery. The Bantus in a short time spread their speech over 40° of latitude, i.e. two-thirds of the whole length of Africa, yet their dialects show no greater differentiation than perhaps that between High and Low German. Then came the Arabs and pressed upon them, and spread over the whole of Africa with a surprising swiftness despite their scanty political power, leaving everywhere deep-lying vestiges of their presence. Conditions in different parts of Africa are graphically described by explorers like J. Hahn and Schweinfurth: the endless feuds, the incessant fluctuating and migrating of peoples, the infinite variety of linguistic, racial, cultural, and psychological traits caused by the mix-up of nations. Where slaves are not considered as mere beasts of burden, but as helpmates of the household, as is the case in the Islamic countries, slavery also contributes a great deal to race mixing.

With a great many tribes the remarkable custom of exogamy (taking wives from alien tribes) prevails. On the causes of this many arguments have been raised. As exogamy is practised in all directions, the infiltration of alien blood may extend very far. Even in some parts of Europe there still exists, at least among rural populations, the practice of taking wives from other villages. In exogamy, properly speaking, however, this is not the question of a mere usage but of a moral postulate whose infringement is considered a sort of incest.

Commercial intercourse also which, by the way, in remote times was closely bound up with piracy, war, and the slave trade, promoted race mixture. Indications of commerce between the North of Europe and far distant Southern and Eastern countries can be

traced back till the early Stone Age.<sup>12</sup> In the Homeric poems the Phœnicians appear as traders and cunning kidnappers. Their offshoot, the Carthagians, founded numerous settlements in the Greek Isles, in Lower Italy, Gaul, and Spain. An Assyrian inscription from the time of Sardanapalus (930 to 905 B.C.) runs : " in the seas where the north star stands in zenith your merchants were fishing the yellow amber." The Nordic amber which can easily be ascertained by chemical examination indeed appears in Asia Minor about 1500 B.C., and on the other hand cowries and Phœnician objects have been found in the Baltic lands. The Greeks covered all the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas with their colonies, unquestionably also a considerable factor of race mixing. The Vikings were no less great as traders than as pirates.

#### WAR AS A FACTOR IN RACE MIXING AND THE FORMING OF NATIONS

The most powerful race mixer, however, was war. The more warlike a nation appears in history, the more mixed we may assume it to have become. Cattle and foreign women were the chief objects coveted in primitive warfare. In the Lesser Antilles the Spaniards<sup>13</sup> nearly everywhere encountered the curious fact that the female section of the people spoke a different tongue from that of the male : this gave rise to all kinds of fabulous accounts until it was discovered that the women spoke an Aruak dialect, while the men spoke the Carib language, though in a form greatly influenced by Aruak. The Caribs had only recently conquered the Antilles, and the women of the Aruak had become their booty. Thus it became a custom that men and women spoke different tongues in succeeding generations also. However, the influence of the mothers on the speech of the children was often the stronger one. In a similar way, in the whole of America an intense mixture of races was effected ; in the Arctic regions of America the Mongolian Eskimos and the Red Indians merged into one race. Likewise as regards the plateau of Central Asia, whence according to a still popular assumption the Aryans came, the custom of distributing the women of the vanquished among the victors and of pressing their young men as soldiers into the conqueror's army is mainly made responsible for the ethnic intermixture.<sup>14</sup> The same facts have been reported frequently from Africa and America. At the dawn of Roman tradition stands the rape of the Sabine women.

After the victories of Emperor Claudius II over the Goths all the Roman provinces were crowded with Teutonic slaves ; to ever

Roman soldier two or three Gothic women were allotted. The Roman armies in later times were an important factor of race mixing. Teutonic mercenaries played a considerable rôle in Roman Egypt, and African and Oriental troops were encamped in Germany. In the household of a Roman Governor in Egypt there lived a Teutonic soothsayer of the name of Walpurga, as we gather from a recently discovered papyrus. In A.D. 384 the Frank Merobaudes was chief commander of the Roman troops in Egypt.<sup>15</sup>

Geological indications make it probable that long periods of drought in Central Asia from two to three thousand years B.C. gave the incentive for vast migratory movements of peoples directed towards more fertile regions, and those migrations probably in many cases caused the loose agglomerations of small nomad tribes to unite into larger bodies. The Huns also when they first broke into Europe were divided into small independent tribes and only later united under the lead of a great warrior, Attila. The circumstance that China barred the way towards the East was the cause of this avalanche of peoples turning westward carrying along with them all the tribes they met with on their way. Teutons and Slavs fought on the side of the Huns and mingled with Mongols.<sup>16</sup> This first Mongol domination in Europe lasted for several generations and cannot but have left vestiges in vast sections of the Continent. In this case the vitality of Roman civilization prevailed and the nomad was driven out. But the typical course of events is different. The ease and well-being of the tiller of the ground allures the rude but more vigorous nomad who overcomes the former and makes him his tributary bondsman or slave, and therewith the process of fusion of the two races sets in. The warring dominators exhaust themselves in continual feuds, the vanquished, containing many higher civilized elements, know how to render themselves indispensable to their lords and in their service frequently rise even above the freeman. This, according to Tacitus, was common among the Teutons. From the amalgamation of the conquering lords and the women of the vanquished frequently arises a mixed race which afterwards in the course of time absorbs both tribes.

It is, to be sure, not the cultural superiority, nor necessarily the greater number which secures the military victory of one race over another. We see in history in many instances a handful of invaders subdue vast countries in which they form but a very small racial minority, the Turks and Arabs for instance. The great masses of the people were usually quite indifferent to such changes of rule : they were dominated and exploited before by a small minority



and had nothing to lose by the change, in some cases they might even hope for an alleviation. Military victories, moreover, often depend on contingencies, such as better arms or the possession of horses, or luck. Above all it seems to have been the superior skill in using metals which often turned the balance. The so-called Horus race that subdued the aborigines of Egypt and founded the first dynasties, brought with them an accomplished metal culture, while the aborigines still used stone implements only. In Egyptian inscriptions the attendants of the Horus frequently appear as smiths. When the Japanese conquered Japan they knew the use of bronze and even iron, while the aborigines had stone weapons only.<sup>17</sup> These, the Ainos, were, according to one of the best experts, Mr. Bälz, closely akin to the present-day Europeans and are counted among the white races which originally inhabited a large portion of Asia and only later in history were driven westward by the Mongols.<sup>18</sup> The first followers of Mohammed, the Yathribites, made headway for Islam not merely by their heroic defiance of death but also by their better equipment, especially by their dressing in mail.<sup>19</sup> According to Roman tradition it was the superior armament of Æneas which induced the natives of Latium, who had only stone and wood weapons, to submission.<sup>20</sup> Herodotus emphasizes that the Persians were by no means behind the Greeks in courage and strength, but they had no armour, more primitive arms, and were not so well trained in tactics as the Greeks who fought in mail-coats.<sup>21</sup> Ancient historians report that the Teutons despite their indomitable courage and enormous strength "were slaughtered like cattle" almost without any casualties on the side of the better armed and tactically more experienced Romans.<sup>22</sup> Only after having become themselves Roman mercenaries did the Teutons learn how to overthrow the Roman Empire. It also appears that a considerable number of the Teutons were once under Gallic rule, evidently owing to the superior iron culture and armament of the Celts.<sup>23</sup> In front of the Greeks and Romans, however, the Gauls were but poorly armed. It strikes one that the nations of the North as compared to those of the South for a long time made but little use of metals, despite the richness and facility of their mining possibilities.<sup>24</sup> For this reason, too, the theory of the original Aryan speaking tribes having their origin in the North of Europe is rather doubtful, because they would not have been able to conquer the better armed nations of the South.<sup>25</sup> Therefore it is quite incongruous when Professor Eugen Fischer maintains that the Red Indians were not "intelligent" enough for the discovery of iron

and copper making. According to Luschan's theory, which to-day is generally accepted, production of iron was discovered by the Negroes, who on Egyptian monuments are frequently represented in the act of offering iron as tribute.

Apart from nomadic tribes of the desert, vigorous mountain dwellers also, especially where plateaux, such as in Assyria, Persia, Peru, Mexico, Macedonia, favoured more extensive gatherings of people, ever and again founded warlike states and invaded and conquered the plains. In many cases these mountains also abounded in metals. Thus by gradual amalgamation small tribes grew into great nations and temporarily even formed world empires. Great conquerors, such as Alexander, always attempted the fusion of the several conquered peoples, even when of heterogeneous races, into one political nation. Frequently also the conquerors adopted the language and culture of the more civilized vanquished. In many cases conquerors, in order to break the national resistance of the vanquished, tore entire nations from their native soil and transplanted them into foreign countries. The best known example of this kind is the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, which led to the development of the Christian religion. Previous to this the Assyrian king Sargon had sent the conquered Israelites away from their country and settled them in Assyria and Media, i.e. in the midst of the Aryan-speaking populations; this ruler repeatedly transplanted entire nations from one end of his empire to the other and the Arabs did the same thing under Harun-al-Raschid. The Chinese went even further and by the systematic mixing of tribes they attained their present uniformity of national features. Also military colonization for the purpose of frontier protection contributed a great deal to the intermixture of races, as is shown by the Roman military colonies. The Teutons first appeared as war prisoners, then as Roman auxiliaries and mercenaries, and finally as conquerors, in many European countries, and even in Africa. Charlemagne in the course of his twenty Saxon wars repeatedly led away as many as a third of the entire Saxon population, each time tens of thousands of people, and settled them in distant parts of his empire; their country was colonized by Franks and heathen Slavs, those that had lent him help against the Saxons. Thus the same Charlemagne who often is exalted by German writers as a "national" statesman was the one who slavized large portions of Saxony such as for a thousand years had been purely German.<sup>26</sup> There has been no war since the remotest times which has not effected a mixture of races. As a curiosity it may be mentioned

that as late as 1795 a regiment of Mohammedan Tartars took service with the King of Prussia and was settled in the newly won provinces. Also the German Emperor Charles IV favoured Mohammedan immigration to Bohemia ; in the Swiss canton of Valais it is said that there occur to this day certain Saracên types, remnants of a former Arabian invasion. We only mention the Magyars, who many times overran the greatest part of Europe in the tenth century, the Mongol and the Turk inroads, the widespread colonizations of German settlers throughout Eastern Europe, the Crusades, the re-colonization of the devastated parts of Hungary after the expulsion of the Turks, the modern colonization of the overseas countries, and the inner migrations in consequence of the attraction exercised by the big industrial centres.

#### LANGUAGE NO TEST OF RACE

The belief that the wide geographical distribution of a language family must necessarily be a proof of the civilizing capacity of those who speak it is utterly erroneous. The range of the Indo-European language, for example, has been greatly surpassed—irrespective of modern colonization—by the spread of the Ural-Altaic and the Austric languages.<sup>27</sup> The Ural-Altaic language family extends from Finland as far as Japan ; and the Austric includes all regions between India and the coasts of South America. This evidently depends on the circumstance that the bearers of the Ural-Altaic tongues, e.g. the Mongols, owing to the physical nature of their continent, persisted for a comparatively long time in nomadic habits of life, and that the Polynesians had for their expansion the practically boundless possibilities of the sea. The early expansion of a language family therefore only proves that its original bearers remained for a longer time than other peoples at a primitive nomadic or semi-nomadic stage of civilization, having thus larger opportunities to conquer higher developed sedentary tribes, whom they then absorbed into their own language family. Thus also the enormous extent of the Indo-European languages as compared to the much smaller Semitic area is explained chiefly by the fact that most of the Semitic tribes were already settled and tied to the soil by agriculture at a period when the Aryan nomad or semi-nomad still carried his language over the continents.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, the present Semitic language area appears to us much larger than it was at the time when the Aryan languages had already attained their widest expansion in Europe, because one small



Semitic tribe, the Arabs, who had remained nomads, suddenly rushed forth from their abodes and semiticized vast regions. Secondly, the development of Hellenism, the growth and extension of the Roman empire and recently also of European colonization spread the Indo-European languages over enormous regions, certainly an evidence of the cultural vitality of the bearers of these respective languages.

As a rule it was always the culture of more advanced but weaker races that fell the prey to the physically stronger Indo-European and Semitic nomads ; and the elements of civilization of these great groups of peoples are largely inherited from other races, subdued by the sword.

Widespread language families are also met in Africa ; here too topographical features and social conditions favoured migrations and conquests. In contrast to this no large language families could develop in America, where the original inhabitants, despite their small number, belonged to about 150 separate language families,<sup>29</sup> and spoke some 1,000 different tongues. This astounding linguistic variety stands in striking contrast to the pronounced uniformity of their racial features. All Red Indians evidently are of a single race, and yet exactly these possessed such an unparalleled multitude of languages. This clearly shows how little the mere belonging to different language families, i.e. the Aryan, Semitic, Hamitic, Ural-Altaic, is indicative of difference of race.<sup>30</sup> The linguistic disruption in America was due probably to the fact that the Red Indian tribes, with few exceptions, never developed beyond the state of scattered roaming hunters, the most natural for them, considering the abundance of game in their country. Nomad tribes such as would have brought about an amalgamation did not exist in old America, as this continent was then lacking in animals fit for domestication such as would have made possible the development of nomadism. The llama alone in South America could not make up for the lack of horned cattle, horses, sheep or swine. The bison is not domesticable. The lack of these economic elements probably accounts for the original linguistic, political, and cultural disconnectedness of the American mainland, and therefore America and also Australia, where the physical conditions were still less favourable, had no powerful race to oppose successfully the incoming of the European, a circumstance which made the development of a " New World " possible. American philologists accept as proved that in the tongues of certain tribal groups, who separated only at a relatively

recent epoch, the common elements have already been lost in the divergencies.

When the conquerors did not intend to settle permanently in the invaded country they often had but little interest in enslaving the males of the vanquished, slave labour being of value mainly for tilling the ground. Therefore they killed the males and distributed the females among themselves. In such cases the language of the conqueror prevailed, but it was subject to certain modifications brought about through the influence of the alien women's speech, for it is from the mother<sup>31</sup> that the children learn, while the father is absent from home on hunting expeditions or on the warpath. Quite otherwise is the development where a thin stratum of less civilized conquerors only superposes the subdued tillers of the ground, with the intention of living on their labour. In this case it will mostly be the speech of the subdued, who are by far greater in number, that obtains. Also the children of the dominating class, growing up together with the children of the serfs, acquire this language, and the following generation already begins to forget the language of its forefathers. As a rule it was the aristocratic conquerors, whose domination merely rested at the point of the sword, whose tongue underwent such a change, but it also happened with colonists. The Spaniards in some parts of South America adopted Indian dialects and forgot their own tongue ; the Russians in certain Siberian districts speak the languages of the natives. In France, the conquering Normans discarded their own language for French and in England for the Anglo-Saxon. The Franks in Gaul, the Longobards in Italy, and the Goths in Spain adopted vulgar Latin, the Mongolians dominating China the Chinese, the conquering Turks in Persia the Persian. It was far otherwise when the invaders to a great extent were peasant colonists backed by the administration of a well-organized bureaucracy. Such were the means by which Rome succeeded in spreading her language nearly everywhere she went within a very short time and without compulsion.<sup>32</sup> Iberian Spain and Celtic Gaul to this very day speak the language Rome gave to them ; the Teuton who in these two countries ruled quite as long as did Rome yielded up his own tongue to the foreign one. Britain once was as much Romanized as Gaul. Gildas, who lived at the time of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, says : " Ita, ut non Britannia, sed Romana insula diceretur." Here the Teutonic idiom prevailed. China was not less successful than Rome in communicating her language to foreign races. Many close relatives of the " Aryans " speak Chinese to-day. Numerous Slav peoples

in the Balkans when adopting Islam accepted with it the Turkish language. The Bulgars, on the other hand, were a Finnish-Turanian tribe, that is to say, closely related to the Turks ; but they adopted the language and nationality of conquered Slavs and have preserved them up to this day. In the Balkan wars people of Turkish race fought on the side of the Slavs, and even more Slavs sided with the Turks. The Arabs communicated their language with a " miraculous swiftness " to all vanquished races, although their conquest was of the aristocratic nature and although in the beginning it was prohibited to the conquered to use the Arab language or script.<sup>33</sup> This is explained by the fact that they were at the same time bearers of a rich civilization which they had adopted from the Greeks, Syrians, Persians, Egyptians, and Jews. The Fellahs who have preserved well the old Egyptian type, to-day speak Arabian and so do the Berbers, who are closely akin to the white Europeans, and the Nubian Negroes. All these believe themselves to be of Arabian extraction and glory in this belief. The Bantus, who spread their language over an enormous area comprising the most diverse racial types, have already been mentioned. The Irish to a great extent adopted the English language, but on the other hand a great many settlers from Scandinavia were Celtized, and so were many Anglo-Saxons. The Celtic language, once prevailing perhaps over the greatest part of Europe, has now disappeared nearly everywhere, but the blood of the Celt remains. The descendants of the non-Aryan Rhaetians in Switzerland and Southern Tyrol speak German or Romansh, those of the Etrurians, who were akin to the Rhaetians, Italian. The Negro slaves caught up corrupted forms of the languages of their respective English, French, Dutch, and Spanish masters. The greater part of the aborigines of India have adopted the Aryan tongues. Dirr rightly says : " There are few nations, perhaps not a single one, that has not in the course of history changed its language. Some even several times." <sup>34</sup>

Change of language in most cases goes hand in hand with racial crossings, but the two phenomena need not necessarily run parallel. The French language is predominantly vulgar Latin, Celtic stems being only of rare occurrence, although the Celtic idiom may have influenced it to a great extent as regards phonetic peculiarities. And yet the Roman strain in the French blood cannot be of any great thickness<sup>35</sup> ; by far the greater number of the actual French are of Celtic, Teutonic, Iberian, and Ligurian extraction. The Iberians and probably the Ligurians too spoke non-Aryan languages. Lapouge, by the way, is of opinion that the Celtic strain is very



insignificant in the blood of the French of to-day.<sup>36</sup> Neither is there need for long spaces of time for a change of language! The Romanization of Gaul was brought about in a few centuries, the Normans of Rollo one hundred years after the conquest spoke only French; in vast areas of Northern Germany, where to-day only German is spoken, Slav dialects prevailed but a few generations ago.

Mere cultural influence, without the necessity of a warlike conquest, may bring about a change of language. Thus Hebrew was crowded out from Palestine by Western Aramaic, and the same would have been achieved by the Greek language but for the brutal oppression of the Jews, which provoked a Jewish national reaction. The Greek Bible in wide circles of Palestine had already displaced the Hebrew one. The Babylonian language, too, gave way to the Aramaic.

The important part migrations and conquests played in the formation of languages is also corroborated by philological research. J. Schmidt<sup>37</sup> showed on the grounds of a rich linguistic material that the single members of the Indo-European language family do not stand among each other in direct relation of descent. The degree of relationship between neighbouring languages is not the same throughout the line, so that a language in one respect may be related to one of its neighbours and in other respects more nearly to others. This is obviously to be explained by the assumption that the languages, spreading like concentric waves, were carried in all directions by small tribes. Afterwards single tribes obtained an ascendancy over others and spread their originally local dialects over vast spaces, this resulting in the former gradual transitions becoming abrupt breaks and widening the gulfs between languages.

Also the profuse abundance of synonyms in the languages of the more primitive peoples probably is explained in part by numerous crossings, though it is also due to the fact that primitive peoples have a more concrete way of thinking. Lacking abstractions they form separate words for every concrete thing. The Lapps, for example, have separate words for all the several species of the reindeer, 20 words for ice, 41 for snow in its different forms, 11 for cold, 26 for freezing, thawing, etc.<sup>38</sup> Yet crossing must also be considered as a concurrent factor in the enrichment of languages. If the father and mother speak different languages this of necessity leads to a richer and mixed vocabulary in the child. As long as heterogeneous elements coexisted within one people the greater part of different languages was retained, and only

subsequently, after a definite amalgamation, did a proper selection of words take place.

Thus the dispersion of a language family over a certain area need not of necessity imply a corresponding dispersion of a definite race. The best example in this respect is offered by the history of the Neo-Latin languages. Their common root is Latin, whose bearers, the Romans, were by no means predominantly "Aryans", but had to a large extent already absorbed Etrurians, Ligurians, and other pro-Aryan elements. In later times the Roman soldiers who spread the Latin language over the then known world, were mostly not even Romans but Oriental, African, and Teutonic auxiliaries and mercenaries. Likewise the peoples who adopted the vulgar Latin speech largely spoke non-Aryan languages, Iberians in Spain, Ligurians and Iberians in Gaul, a nondescript chaos of races on the soil of modern Roumania.<sup>39</sup> In more recent times, the Spaniards brought the language which originated from Rome to the Red Indians of South America, and the French did the same with respect to the Negroes of the West Indies. In a like manner other Aryan tongues spread to the dark Dravidas of India and the fair complexioned Finns of northern Eurasia. Yet even scientific writers ever and again commit the error of assuming that most of these peoples and their culture are predominantly "Aryan", because to-day they speak Aryan languages.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ARYAN AND OTHER LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Comparative philology has traced, and still goes on tracing, relations between the great linguistic groups which partly point to a common source of origin, and partly seem to be the result of ethnic or cultural intermixture. Some modern authorities have even advanced the theory that all languages may be traced back to the same source.<sup>40</sup> Numerous parallels between the Semitic and the Indogermanic tongues had already been observed many years ago by Frederic Delitzsch, who drew up a list of some fifty root equations. Since then more recent research has made the Aryan-Semitic affinity more and more plausible until finally Hermann Möller could compile his *Comparative Dictionary of the Indogermanic and Semitic Languages* (1911).<sup>41</sup> The ancient Egyptian language forms a bridge between the Semitic and the North African (Hamitic) idioms. As far back as 1806 Adelung, the father of German etymological research, noticed numerous analogies between

the Turkish, German and Slavonic tongues, that is between the Ural-Altaic and the Indogermanic language families. He notes, for example, 247 instances of Turkish-German root affinities. Three-quarters of a century later on Tomaschek, Koeppen and others furnished numerous contributions to the further elucidation of this question,<sup>42</sup> and in recent times many linguists have detected a strong relationship between the Indogermanic and Caucasian dialects.

The leading German authority in African philological research, G. Meinhof, is of opinion that the entire Hamitic-Semitic-Indo-European language group must be considered as interconnected; on the other hand the Hamitic languages are connected with those of the Bantu Negroes, the Ful language forming the transition between these two.<sup>43</sup> The idea of an affinity between the Indo-European-Hamitic-Semitic and Bantu languages, was, by the way, advanced by S. Reinisch. The relations between the Basque and Hamitic, and Basque and Caucasian, and between the African, Asiatic, and Australian languages, have also been adverted to, the last pointing towards America.

A very learned linguist, Albert Drexel, tries to prove that the Aino language is a link between languages of the old and the new world, between Asia and Europe on the one hand, America and Australia on the other.<sup>44</sup>

Vast material has been collected by F. van der Velden,<sup>45</sup> who says: "Much of the raw material of the language, of the roots as well as of the stems, is common to the Indogermanic and non-Indogermanic languages of Asia and Europe. . . . That the Semitic languages have some root affinities with the Indogermanic has long been evident to all but those who do not wish to see and the connexion between the Indogermanic and the Ural-Altaic languages can only be denied by one who, as Hommel puts it, is utterly wrong in his head." This scholar's studies, moreover, extend also to the connexions between the Indogermanic and the Caucasian and non-Aryan languages of India, and even include Bantu. Non-Aryan remnants in European languages have been traced, especially in the Alpine countries, as is shown by an analysis of the Bavarian dialect and the Romansh patois in Switzerland. Also anthropology, prehistory and classical historical traditions corroborate the view that the oldest stock of the Alpine populations was formed by non-Aryans. "Mountain countries of difficult access, which on account of their scanty fertility are not much coveted by conquerors, are remarkably slow in undergoing foreign influences



in race and language. The same languages whose remains to-day are found only in remote Alpine valleys, once prevailed also in the surrounding hill countries and plains, from whence they have long since been swept away by fresh waves of peoples, or, if still existing, been transformed beyond recognition." High mountains are therefore, everywhere like ethnographic museums, conserving the remains of once mighty races. Their blood continues to live within us; their languages have disappeared. Van der Velden draws the following conclusions from his comparative researches: "The people who spoke the original Indogermanic language proceeded from the very same ethnic sources whence also the Semites, the Ural-Altaic and other peoples came, for they all once passed together through common stages of language development. Moreover, the Indogermanic speaking peoples kept in constant touch by cross-breeding with non-Indogermanic tribes as is proved by the reciprocal borrowing not only of words, but also of myths, religions, notions, and folklore, such as recur all over the world." Anthropological studies, too, lead him to the same conclusion. The author concludes: "Thus the inquiry into somatic characteristics strongly corroborates the evidences furnished by philological research, namely that the Indogermanic peoples, linguistically as well as somatically, have their roots in non-Aryan peoples, with whom they are everywhere crossed and with whom in both their physical and intellectual features they are nearer related than they in their West European conceit are willing to admit."

#### LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL VALUE

Wilhelm von Humboldt says in the introduction to his great work on the Kawi language <sup>46</sup>: "Between the mental peculiarities of a nation and its ways of linguistic expression there exist correlations of such intimacy that, if the one be given, it should be possible to deduce the other from it entirely. Language is the outward appearance of the national spirit of a people; its language is its spirit, and its spirit is its language; one cannot go too far in identifying these as one and the same."

Here we have the romantic conception of language expressed in a classic form. Already Rousseau, a romantic, too, asserted that languages in their "pure" state were the expression of the intimate feelings of the very soul of the peoples.<sup>47</sup> But he only finds this "pure" language among southern nations. With the Northerners

the constant necessity of reciprocal aid has, according to Rousseau, led to a utilitarian form of speech. "The first word of the Southerner was 'aimez-moi', that of the Northerner 'aidez-moi'." J. G. Fichte, on the contrary, saw an inestimable advantage of the Germans over the Romanized Teutons, by which he meant above all the French, in the circumstance that the Germans had preserved their own original language which, pouring forth from the depths of their innermost nature is a living organism, while the Latin speech assumed by the Romance peoples is essentially uncongenial to their beings and therefore in their mouths a dead instrument of a mere conventional significance. For this reason the Neo-Latin nations have only spirit while the Germans also have a soul. On this assumption Fichte builds the highest hopes for his people, but he also emphasizes that racial purity is not here the point, as all Teutonic nations to a greater or lesser degree are ethnic intermixtures.<sup>48</sup>

Later on materialistic tendencies and other factors caused the transformation of the romantic conception of a "national spirit" into a "racial spirit". Ever and ever again the notion has cropped up that the language of a people is the characteristic expression of its racial spirit. A distinguished sociologist of Berlin University, Professor A. Vierkandt, once maintained that higher intellectual qualities must be attributed to the Aryan and Semitic groups of peoples for the mere fact that their languages show a higher structure, possessing a real verb, a differentiation of genders which in other groups is but rarely found, and a true inflexion. Furthermore he finds "an unmistakable indication of superiority of the Aryan race" in the fact that the Aryan languages conceived the auxiliary verb "to be" which is wanting in the Semitic tongues, this being a sign of their extraordinary power of abstraction.<sup>49</sup> Dr. O. Reche, professor of anthropology at the University of Vienna, also considers language to be a product of racial spirit<sup>50</sup> and deduces from linguistic differences that also the mental and intellectual dispositions of the nations necessarily must differ greatly from one another. He even goes so far as to argue that the German-Americans by having abandoned their national language have fallen into a state of mental decay. Another Viennese professor, Hüsing, maintains that logical forms and grammatical structures have their roots in somatic peculiarities and therefore are constitutional and inalienable, and that one can hardly exaggerate the differences between the several linguistic families.<sup>51</sup> Professor Fritz Graebner recently expounded the theory of a close connexion between

psychological language types and cultural development, though he did not emphasize race.<sup>52</sup>

At a glance it seems that race influences at least quickness and articulation of speech; yet experience shows that children when growing up from babyhood in foreign racial environment learn to articulate the foreign language as perfectly and idiomatically as natives of the race they live among. In the same way, to some degree, language certainly reflects the national character of a people, but national character is a matter of history and tradition<sup>53</sup>; and even in admitting this we must avoid going too far. The assertion that language is the perfectly true reflection of the hereditary mental and intellectual disposition of a people and that differences of language are indicative of profound differences of mental disposition is, however, quite unfounded. The greatest authorities in the domains of linguistic science, among them even those who regard language as the incarnation of the mental individuality of a nation, decline emphatically the interpretation of linguistic facts in the sense of racial superiority or inferiority; thus Misteli, Steinthal, Wundt, Schuchardt, Meillet, F. de Saussure, H. Paul, H. Hirt, Fritz Mauthner and others.<sup>54</sup> Misteli says that distinction of linguistic types does not include the preferential valuation of one race in comparison with others. Language differences may indicate a diversity of mental dispositions, yet this is not identical with differences in cultural capacity. Misteli refrains from further expounding this idea of a correlation between language and national spirit, restricting himself to occasional remarks on the subject. Thus, speaking of the Semitic languages, he says that they are remarkable for the depth of their living, powerful, spirituality, which appears also in the religious emotionality of the Semites, an opinion diametrically opposed to the characteristics of Semite religiosity given by many other writers, among them H. S. Chamberlain. Wundt points out that each of the several languages developed distinct sides of common human nature and that therefore absolute valuation seems impossible. "The inference in particular," he says, "from linguistic forms to fixed racial features of a psychical nature, is utterly inadmissible." Wundt specially rejects also the attempts of James Byrne and F. N. Finck to draw conclusions from linguistic forms as to racial temperaments. Paul denies the concrete existence of such a thing as "national spirit" and apostrophizing Wundt, exclaims: "Away with this abstraction!" Intercourse alone engenders speech; racial descent plays "a very subordinate part". Saussure calls it an error to



consider speech as the expression of race. Jordans argues interestingly to the same effect. Hugo Schuchardt says: "that race, as such, exercises an immediate influence on language has never been proved." The same authority altogether declines the conception of language as a natural organism: to his mind language is a manifestation of a social order, and is often an inextricable mixture which makes it impossible to sunder original affinities and subsequent foreign influences.

Meyer-Lübke, on the other hand, called the "Nigger-French" a "rude adaption to an entirely different linguistic genius". But this is emphatically contradicted by Schuchardt who finds nothing African in "Nigger-French" and maintains that the habit of thinking in no way differs from that of French children. Fritz Mauthner considers that a valuation of languages on the basis of their structural peculiarities is a fanciful play and stigmatizes this forcibly as a superstition. H. Hirt repudiates the assertion that the Indo-Europeans because of their language can lay claim to superiority and points out as an example modern English, which is the most ground off and at the same time the most developed of all the Indogermanic languages, but which as regards structure stands nearer to the Chinese than to the Indogermanic.

Until a short time ago the division of the languages into isolating, agglutinant, and inflectional types was considered the mainstay of the linguistic science. And yet these types are only, as Schuchardt has it, stages with manifold transitions between them. Moreover, as already shown, it is just the languages of the primitive peoples which often evince a surprising richness in vocabulary. In many cases primitive languages also show a hypertrophy of forms and a most complex grammar, betraying by this a comprehensive memory and a keen power of classification in its possessors. Thus it seems quite hopeless to draw conclusions from a language as to the intellectual standard of those who speak it. "While the savage hunter-folk of the Bushmen," says Ratzel, "are possessed of an ingeniously constructed and rich language, we find uninflectional Chinese, the most simple of tongues, according to evolutionist views, with its 450 radicals which, like the pieces of a puzzle put together and then taken asunder, still remain unchanged practically without any sort of organic connexion with one another, is spoken by a people who developed the most perfect and durable civilization of Asia." Misteli also points out the striking difference between the admirable spiritual achievement of Chinese thought and its simplicity of linguistic means.

Among the European languages English is the poorest morphologically, while the Slav languages are of a highly complex structure. According to the race theory, therefore, the English language would betray less cultural capacity than the Slav ones !

Max Müller quotes Darwin's contemptuous judgments of the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego : " At the sight of this people," he said, " one can hardly persuade oneself that they are fellow-men and fellow-inhabitants of the same planet. Their language scarcely merits the name of articulate speech." Captain Cook likened it to the sounds produced in clearing one's throat. But subsequently this language was found to have a stock of 32,430 expressions, which seems rather considerable when one considers that the rich world of Shakespeare is contained within the compass of 15,000 words. Also their alleged physical disfiguration has been recognized as a gross error since Virchow's exhaustive investigations.<sup>55</sup>

G. v. d. Gabelentz says : " When I consider the easy and infinitely rich flexibility of let us say an Ural-Altaic or a Philippine language ; or the variety and subtle shades of expression in the verbal forms of the Santal speech, despite the simple linguistic means at hand, I cannot help thinking that we, with a much greater waste of energy, have but attained comparatively mediocre results." <sup>56</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup> For the Indo-European problem compare especially O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 1907, and the smaller work by the same author, *Die Indogermanen*, 1914; Hermann Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 2 vols., 1905-7; S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, and also the smaller work by the same author *Indogermanen und Germanen*, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Lacombe, *La psychologie des individus et des sociétés chez Taine*, 1906, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Even such a universal and cautious sociologist as Paul Barth says in one of his early works that the Persians, being Aryans, possessed a greater political capacity than the Semites, as is proved by the long duration of their empire (Barth, *Geschichtsphilosophie Hegels und der Hegelianer*, 1890, p. 140). But the modern Persians are a mixed race, composed of Iranian, Turkish, Mongolian, Semitic, Armenian, and Caucasian elements, their rulers in recent times were Turks, and nearly all the Persian soldiery were Turks (Ratzel, ii, pp. 573, 604, 608). In Barth's own periodical (*Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie und Soziologie*, xxvi, 1902, p. 106), the well-known ethnologist Steinmetz asks why the political genius of the Aryans has never shown itself in the miserable conglomerate of the Persian Empire. It also seems queer that Herman Hirt (*Die Indogermanen*, 1905, i, p. 105), styles Buddha as a "genuine Aryan", and claims his doctrine to be the incarnation of the Aryan spirit. What reasons can one give for this? And how can one explain the fact that Buddhism to-day is found almost exclusively among the non-Aryans, chiefly among Mongolian nations? Usually the Aryan spirit is described as active, fighting, enterprising, insatiable, etc., which is the opposite of Buddhism.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gobineau; also Woltmann, *Politische Anthropologie*, 1913, p. 287, and numerous writings by Wilser, Arldt, and others.

<sup>5</sup> Hirt, vol. i, pp. 175, 196; Feist, *Kultur*, pp. 450, 466, 484-5, 510.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Kossina expresses this even in the title of his book, *Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, eine hervorragende nationale Wissenschaft*; cf., on the other hand, Schopenhauer's sharp remarks in his *Parega*, § 265, on Patriotism in Science.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. T. Arldt, *Germanische Völkerwellen und ihre Bedeutung in der Bevölkerungsgeschichte von Europa*, 1917.

<sup>8</sup> Pott, *Die Ungleichheit menschlicher Rassen, hauptsächlich vom sprachwissenschaftlichen Standpunkte*, 1856.

<sup>9</sup> A. L. Kroeber, "The Determination of Linguistic Relationship," *Anth.*, 1913, p. 396.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. for the following Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, vol. i, 2nd ed., 1899, pp. 113-208; also Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, vol. i, pp. 150 et seq., 162, 568, 593; vol. ii, pp. 191, 207. In modern ethnology the theory of "diffusion" has won great importance. It explains cultural parallels by migrations over sometimes incredibly huge distances. Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *Psychology and Ethnology*, 1926.

<sup>11</sup> O. Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 1906, p. 270. The Viking chieftains often kept hundreds of women of the most divers races shut up in the Oriental manner in harems. A. Bugge, *Die Viker*, 1906, p. 85.

<sup>12</sup> Hoernes, *Natur-und Urgeschichte*, ii, p. 500 seq.; Hirt, i, 317, 395 seq.; Schuchardt, *Alt-Europa*, pp. 42, 59.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. N. Finck, *Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, 1915, p. 92; Haebler in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, ii, p. 136.

<sup>14</sup> H. Schurtz, "Hochasien und Sibirien" in Helmolt's *Weltgesch.*, ii, p. 136.



<sup>15</sup> Cf. W. Schubert, *Aegypten v. Alexander d. Gr. bis Mohammed*, 1922, p. 333.

<sup>16</sup> In warlike expeditions and in migrations heterogeneous races often combined for common action either freely or forcibly. Thus the Cimbri and Teutons were a Celtic-German mixture as is proved by the Celtic names of their kings and by the fact that the Romans availed themselves of Celtic speaking spies against them. Together with the Vandals and the Suevi wandered the Alans, a Caucasian tribe of non-Teuton, probably not even of Aryan speech. Flinders Petrie ("Migrations," *JAI.*, 1906, p. 189) gives a comprehensive view of the migrations by the twenty most important nations of the time of the great European migration.

<sup>17</sup> W. Belck, *ZE.*, 1907, p. 334, tries to show that the manufacture of steel was an invention of the Philistines, whom he associates with the Phœnicians, while all the other nations of Anterior Asia for a long time remained quite ignorant of the use of iron, especially of hard iron. This theory, however, has not found much acceptance. It is noteworthy that in the alluvial soil of Egypt and Babylon neither copper nor iron ore has been found; in Egypt both these metals for a long time were very rare. Iron was everywhere used rather for implements, because only the soft qualities could be produced. The Greeks attributed the invention of iron and steel to the Chalybiis, south-east of the Black Sea. This, as Blankenhorn remarks, coincides with the Biblical sayings and is corroborated also through finds of enormous prehistoric piles of slag in Paphlagonia, Pontus, and North Persia.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Bälz, "Die Riu-kiu-Insulaner, die Aino und andere Kaukasische Reste in Ostasien," *Kbl.*, 1911, p. 187 seq., *ZE.*, 1907, p. 281. W. Gowland, "The Metals in Antiquity," *JAI.*, 1912, p. 235 seq.

<sup>19</sup> Hell, *Kultur der Araber*, 1910, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis Romanae*, cap. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Herodot., ix, 62; cf. also vii, p. 61 seq., v, 49.

<sup>22</sup> Die Cassius, xxxviii, 45-9; Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iv, 5; Florus, i, 38; Tacitus, *Annales*, ii, 14-21.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, vi, 24. This is upheld also by weighty considerations of a linguistic nature. Feist goes so far as to advance the opinion that Indo-Germanic speech was brought to the Teutons by the Celts alone. Hirt, i, 170, 174; Feist, *Kultur*, p. 482 seq.

<sup>24</sup> In order to effect the liquefaction of iron in the Austrian Alps it was sufficient to employ surface iron ore for the construction of a hearth, and even steel could be made in a very simple way. Cf. A. Müllner, *Geschichte des Eisens in Inner-Oesterreich*, 1909.

<sup>25</sup> Professor Ridgeway (in *JAI.*, 1909) states that iron and bronze were first used in Central Europe for weapons, and that the fair, tall, Achæans used them when conquering Greece. This, however, is not in accordance with the generally accepted views on the first use of metals in the North, with excavations in Greece, and the testimony of Homer.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, vol. iii, 1883, pp. 1008, 1019, 1043, 1058, 1061, 1066, 1106. Cf. also A. Heusler, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 1905, p. 39, and Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii, p. 139.

<sup>27</sup> F. N. Finck, *Die Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, 1915, pp. 43, 59.

<sup>28</sup> By a curious mistake many of our racial dogmatists speak disparagingly of the Semites as of "nomads", trying to explain their national characteristics by their "nomadic instincts". They ignore that the North Semites were fixed to the soil in all probability even thousands of years before the first Aryan tribes settled down, and that the South Semites (excepting the tribes of the desert) are quite as old tillers of the ground as the oldest European Aryans. One must beware of the conception that between nomadism and settled life are sharp contrasts; many transitions occurred. In Europe prehistory shows that since the remotest times settled tillers of the soil and wandering herdsmen existed side by side, and also that the tillers were not always fixed permanently to the soil, but moved on whenever compelled by natural catastrophes or hostile invaders. Schrader, Hirt, and Feist discuss this question.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Finch, p. 68, Buschan, *Völkerkunde*, 1923, vol. i, p. 59.

<sup>30</sup> Anyone venturing the thesis that the Red Indians on account of their

linguistic diversity must necessarily consist of 100 or 150 entirely different races, would be blind to reason. The Semites and Aryans, however, who for thousands of years lived as close neighbours, according to the assertions of race dogmatists must have consisted of entirely heterogeneous races—just because they belonged to different linguistic families.

<sup>31</sup> This perhaps also suffices to account for the fact that children in their mental traits more frequently take after their mother, and there is no need to suppose, as has often been the case, a stronger hereditary influence on the part of the female parent. Cf. Baur-Fischer-Lenz, p. 391; J. Bauer, p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> Everywhere the aristocracies of the conquered peoples were first Romanized. This was facilitated by the liberal admission to Roman citizenship and even nobility.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Josef Hell, *Kultur der Araber*, 1919, pp. 56, 111, 115.

<sup>34</sup> Dirr, "Linguistische Probleme," in *MWAG.*, 1909–10. Much evidence has been collected by Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 1877, vol. i, p. 284 seq. It is important to note that the names of cultural products may have been borrowed from the foreign traders. On the other hand the survival of geographical names usually proves the survival of older racial elements too. Modern comparative philology by the study of geographical names has already made most striking discoveries on prehistoric racial relations.

<sup>35</sup> Fustel de Coulanges, loc. cit., pp. 63, 70. According to Brachet, of the 5,977 radicals of modern French, 3,800 are of Latin, 420 Teutonic, 650 unknown, and only 20 of Celtic origin. The remaining come from Italian, Provençal, Spanish, English, German, Slavonic, and other languages. The 6,000 radicals by combinations, derivations, etc., have been increased to about 27,000 words. Cf. Fouillée, *Psychologie du peuple français*, 1898, p. 159.

<sup>36</sup> Lapouge, *Race et milieu social*, 1908, p. 53.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J. Schmidt, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, 1872.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Levy-Brühl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, 1921, p. 147. According to Herder, the Arabs have 50 words for lion, 80 for honey, 200 for serpent, and 1,000 for sword. Adelung, *Aelteste Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1806, pp. 311–16, gives 112 radicals for "horse" from the several Teutonic languages, and says this in no way exhausts the richness of the subject. Cf. also Ratzel, vol. i, p. 318, on the origin of synonyms in the Australian languages.

<sup>39</sup> To the Roumanians, of course, it is a matter of national conceit to derive their origin from the Romans. That they are utterly wrong in this has been shown by Emil Fischer in *Kbl.*, 1915, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> Especially Trombetti; cf. A. Wirth, *Rasse und Volk*, 1914, p. 65 et seq., where numerous other authorities are referred to. Finck also is of this opinion, cf. F. D. Finck, *Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaues*, 1923, p. 155; J. van Ginneken too, in *Anth.*, 1910, p. 1174.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the assenting opinions of Hestermann and van Ginneken, *Anth.*, viii, 1913, especially p. 245. In contrast to this, Feist, *Kultur*, p. 414, disclaims this connexion.

<sup>42</sup> Adelung, *Aelteste Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1806, p. 368. Tomaschek, *Zeitschrift f. oesterr. Gymnasien*, 1875, p. 520; 1878, p. 860; Koeppen, *Ueber die Verwandtschaft der Indoeuropäer mit Finno-ugrier*, 1886 (Russian). German report on this paper by Stieda, *AA.*, xx, 1891, pp. 263–72. This author deduces from linguistic evidences connexions between the Ural-Altaic and the Aryan races, whose common original homes he locates in the central basin of the Volga. Friedr. Braun in his book, *Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen*, 1922, pp. 17 et seq., quotes numerous more recent inquiries into the connexions between the great linguistic groups.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Hestermann, "Kritische Darstellung der neuesten Ausichten über Gruppierungen und Bewegungen der Sprachen und Voelker in Afrika," *Anth.*, vii, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Albert Drexel, *Die Frage nach der Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes im Licht der Sprachforschung* (Innsbruck, 1925).

<sup>45</sup> F. v. d. Velden, *Ueber Ursprung und Herkunft der indogermanischen Sprachen und anarische Sprachreste in Westeuropa*, 1912.

<sup>46</sup> W. v. Humboldt, *Ueber die Kawisprache auf der Insel Java, nebst einer Einleitung über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung der Menschheit*, 1836, vol. i.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Leo Jordan's excellent article on "Language and Society", in *Hauptprobleme der Soziologie, Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber*, 1923, vol. i, p. 339.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. J. G. Fichte, *Vierte Rede an die deutsche Nation* (Werke, 1847), vol. vii, p. 311.

<sup>49</sup> Vierkandt, *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, p. 313. It seems, however, that Vierkandt has abandoned his former ideas on race.

<sup>50</sup> Otto Reche, "Rasse und Sprache," *AA.*, 1921, p. 208.

<sup>51</sup> Hüsing, "Völkerschichten im Iran," *MWAG.*, 1916, p. 218.

<sup>52</sup> F. Graebner, *Das Weltbild der Primitiven*, 1924, p. 91.

<sup>53</sup> Very interesting observations by various authors on this subject are quoted by E. Hurwicz, *Die Seelen der Völker*, 1920, p. 130 et seq. Cf. also O. Weise, *Charakteristik der lateinischen Sprache*, 1891, and the same author, *Unsere Muttersprache*, 1895.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. F. Misteli, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, 1893, p. 108 seq.; Steinthal, *Abriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. i, 1871, p. 54; W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vol. ii, *Die Sprache*, iii, ed. 1912, pp. 379, 439 seq.; H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, 4th ed., 1909, pp. 11, 39. F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 1906, pp. 268, 318; H. Schuchardt, "Sprachverwandtschaft," in *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1917, p. 518; the same, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der baskischen Studien," *Anth.*, 1911, p. 945; Fritz Mauthner, *Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache*, 1901, vol. ii, pp. 30, 56 seq., 313 seq., 319. H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 1905, vol. i, pp. 83, 88; Jordan, *a.a.O.*, pp. 347 seq., 359. Also Wackernagel, "Sprachtausch und Sprachmischung," in *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil. hist. Klasse*, 1904, p. 90, disclaims the conception of language being an organism; he also refers to J. Grimm on the subject.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. T. Achelis, *Moderne Völkerkunde*, 1896.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. F. Mauthner, p. 316.



## CHAPTER V

### "NORDICS," ARYAN AND OTHER ELEMENTS IN EUROPE

#### PREHISTORIC CONNEXIONS

WE shall now essay to combine anthropological and linguistic investigations and to discuss the question of whether Europe is predominantly Nordic. For the purpose of this examination we shall accept the thesis of the race theorists that Nordics and Aryans, or the Germanic peoples, were originally identical and in this same sense we shall speak of an Aryan race.

Prehistoric research shows that cross breedings of human races have been going on in Europe since the remotest times.<sup>1</sup> The oldest and lowest type found in Europe is the so-called Neanderthal man ; parts of skeletons of this race have been found in Germany, in Belgium, France, Croatia, and Moravia. The skull in many respects is nearer the animal form than even the lowest racial types of our time. It is dolichocephalic in shape, but for one brachycephalic variety found near Krapina in Croatia. In 1921 a skull very nearly resembling in shape that of the Neanderthal man was unearched in South Africa,<sup>2</sup> and some authorities advanced the opinion that this race, coming from Africa in the primeval ages, was dispersed over Europe. Of more recent origin is the long-skulled Cro-Magnon type from which evolved in all probability the Nordic and the Mediterranean races, that is to say, principally the majority of Europeans, Aryans, Semites, and Hamites. Besides this also some round-skulled types have been found at Grenoble, Furfooz, Ofnet, Mugem. These probably have some connexion with the present-day Alpine races. They very likely came from Asia. Remains of a distinctly Negroid race of small stature and long skulls have been found in the Grimaldi caves near Mentone, and similar finds have been made also in other parts of Europe, from the South of France to the Russian plains.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, from this epoch have come down to us a series of ivory carvings representing human beings with apparently African features, especially characterized by enormously broad buttocks (steatopygy). An example of this is the so-called "Venus of Willendorf" found near Willendorf, a village in Lower Austria.

As during the diluvial age Europe and Africa were connected with each other by a bridge of land, many authorities, among them Luschan, Hoernes, Verneau, Sergi, Brinton, Hervé, Classen, suppose that, when the glacial period was over, the thinned out European population was filled up by infiltrations from Africa. And indeed the distance between Central Europe and North Africa is hardly more than 1,000 kilometres, while the Indogermanic and the Ural-Altaic language families have spread over a distance of 8,000 kilometres, leaving modern colonial expansion out of the question. Pigmy races are alleged to be traceable especially in the Swiss Alps, in France, in the Rhine valley as far as Worms, and in Silesia <sup>4</sup>; Pliny also speaks of pigmies in the Alps, and folklore has preserved their memories. Among the present-day Europeans certain types crop up occasionally which strongly remind one of African pigmy features.

Attempts have been made to locate the origin of culture and the routes of early migrations with the help of archæological evidence. The best authorities in prehistoric and linguistic science suppose the original source of all culture to have originated in the East from whence it gradually spread all over Europe. As opposed to this Salomon Reinach, Ludwig Wilser, Mathæus Much, Gustaf Kossinna and others maintain that the North of Europe, which most of them believe also to have been the cradle of the Indogermanic race, independently evolved most important inventions which from there found their way towards the South and the East. But the best Nordic authorities, Sophus Müller and Oskar Montelius, reject this theory,<sup>5</sup> and stick to the old hypothesis of the Oriental origin of culture. Schuchardt, for one, looks mainly upon Western Europe as the oldest cultural centre. For our purpose this question is but of a secondary importance, because that there existed sure connexions between prehistoric pottery and other objects and particular races can hardly be established <sup>6</sup>; on the other hand, the primitive elements of culture in question might just as well have been invented independently in different parts of the world. Some advocates of the Nordic hypothesis, for instance Wilser, venture so far as to ascribe to the North even the invention of the art of writing. This, however, cannot be accepted by any competent scholar. An outstanding fact cannot be refuted, namely, that at a time when Europe still slept in the dusk of a primordial state of civilization, there existed in the south-east a great city, Babylon, which possessed a very high material and intellectual culture, and was endowed with a far-reaching civilizing power.

## PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF RACES

The North of Europe is the focus of the light-pigmented tall, long-headed Nordic or Teutonic type whose purest expression is found in Scandinavia, England, North Germany, and Finland, and which, as a component part of manifold racial crossings has penetrated most of the other European countries. In the South, on the other hand, all around the Mediterranean coasts, there dwell the long-headed brunets, mostly less tall in stature, and more slender than the Nordics. The area between these two is filled up by the brunet, rather short and stout, square-headed Alpines, whose centre of gravitation is in the Alps, from whence they shade off in various gradations over South Germany, Bohemia, Eastern France, Upper Italy, and the East of Europe. To a lesser degree the Alpine type is met with also in Holland and even in Norway.<sup>7</sup>

Besides these three principal European races, according to Deniker one may distinguish two more types, namely the blond, more round-skulled "Eastern race" prevailing in Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland) and a very tall, round-headed and predominantly brunet type that Deniker calls the "Adriatic" or "Dinaric" race. This Dinaric race has as one of its most distinctive traits a prominent aquiline nose, and has its home chiefly along the eastern littoral of the Adriatic from the Balkans as far as the Tyrol. Deniker also subdivided the Mediterraneans into two distinctive groups, the one of a tall stature and mesocephalic head, the other long-headed and short-statured. Besides these he indicated some two or three varieties more. •

Special mention should also be made of a thick-set, broad-headed, flat-nosed Mongoloid type with high cheekbones, evidently of Asiatic origin, found in various degrees of intermixture in the extreme north of Europe (Lapps) and also in the East (Russia, Finland, Hungary, Bohemia).

These various types, as here described, are to-day generally recognized as the constituent elements of the European racial conglomerate, but they are to be met with to no small extent far beyond the confines of Europe. The fair complexioned Nordics have been declared by some authorities to constitute the original Indogermans. Others, however, see in the brunet, round-headed Alpines the original bearers of the Indogermanic languages. These Alpines expanded in a broad belt down the Danube far into Asia, and by some anthropologists have been brought into connexion with the Mongols (E. Fischer). Luschan believes them to be closely related to races dwelling in Asia Minor, especially with the ancient



Hittites, whom on the other hand he believes to have formed one of the chief components of the Jewish people. More recent researches rather tend to see in the Dinarics a spur of Oriental races protruding into Europe, a possibility which in view of the sometimes strikingly Oriental noses of the Dinarics could not fail to suggest itself. The Mediterranean type unquestionably dominates also in North Africa and in large parts of Anterior Asia. Some anthropologists have also propounded the hypothesis of a common origin of the Mediterranean and the Nordic races.

Professor H. I. Fleure, moreover, described a peculiar kind of brunet and extremely long-headed type still to be found as ethnic fragments in some out-of-the-way parts of Wales, England, and Scotland. This race which also shows some Negroid characteristics, protruding mouths, flat noses, etc., once extended over vast parts of Europe and is met with also in Africa, Arabia, Australia, and even South America. This race in all probability came to Europe from Africa, perhaps also from South-Western Asia. Professor Fleure attempted to prove that in prehistoric times they split into two branches, of which the one migrated north and settled round the Baltic Sea, developing through environmental influences of a climatic and geological character its present blond and Nordic features, while the other branch formed the Mediterraneans of the South. A lateral branch of these, Fleure suggests, are the Semites.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE NORDIC TYPE IN GERMANY

That in present-day Germany, especially in the south, the Nordic or alleged "Aryan" types form only a minority, has been proved already by a census of eye and hair colour of German school children taken in 1880 at the instance of Professor Virchow. In its perfect purity the Nordic type is rare in Germany. The longest-headed of all German tribes are, according to Virchow's measurements, the Frisians; but these, this anthropologist argues from the peculiar shape of their crania, seem to be no true Teutons, but of a more primitive, or Neanderthaloid derivation. Virchow found among the Frisians 18 per cent true long-heads, 35 per cent medium long-heads with a tendency to long-headedness, 31 per cent round-heads, and the rest medium heads tending towards round-headedness. Waldenburg,<sup>9</sup> who measured the Frisians of the North Sea islands, came to the surprising result that long-headedness—if there ever was any there—has disappeared entirely from these people till now regarded as the purest Teutons. No less than

87.7 per cent of the individuals measured were decidedly round-headed, 42.5 per cent even extremely so !

In South Germany long-heads have been almost entirely displaced by round ones. To quote one example for many, Kollmann counted among the skulls from old Germanic tombs in Bavaria 48 per cent true long-heads, and only 11 per cent true round-heads, while Ranke among the living population of the same districts only found 1 per cent true long-heads, and 83 per cent true round-heads. Even more striking is the contrast between the former and the present population in the Rhine district and in Swabia. Ammon found the pure Nordic type in Baden amounted to only 1.45 per cent of the individuals measured.

The focus of round-headedness combined with dark pigmentation and thick-set stature is in the Alps ; from there this racial type spread over the whole of South Germany, crowding out the "Germanic" types. Zbinden, who examined the Swiss conscripts, failed to find among them even one specimen of the pure North-European type, and even in crossings the Nordic features seldom predominated.<sup>10</sup> Frizzi found among 1,000 Tyrolese skulls 42 per cent hyperbrachycephalic, and a like percentage of brachycephalic forms. Giovanozzi found 88 per cent round-skulls among the Tyrolese measured by him. This anthropologist also draws attention to the relative lowness of the Tyrolese crania, perhaps a Mongoloid characteristic.

During the world war extensive anthropological measurements on German prisoners were taken in England,<sup>11</sup> the results of which may be summarized in the conclusion drawn that Germanic racial characteristics are more common in England than in Germany, where they evidently have been partly replaced by Alpine and Slavonic types. The average cephalic index of the English was found to be 78.24, of the Germans 82.5.<sup>11</sup> In no German province is it below 80. (The term dolichocephalic is applied to skulls with an index below 75.) It is interesting to note that the average cranial capacity of the German war prisoners was found to be considerably greater than that of the British soldiers, and even somewhat greater than that of British students. From 38 to 50 per cent were dark types, even among the North German prisoners ; while in South Germany the percentage of darks was from 79 to 99 per cent.

Ripley says on the ground of distribution of "Germanic" racial characteristics : "The North-Eastern third of France and one-half of Belgium are to-day much more Germanic than South Germany."

The chauvinist francophobes among the Germans forget as a rule that France was the country of the Franks, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and Normans, peoples to whom Germanic race cannot be disputed. Starting from a different point of departure, Arbois de Jubainville, Celtic philologist, arrived at the conclusion, namely, that in France it is the Teutons and in Germany the Celts who form the chief stock of the population. South Germany has considerable strains of Celtic, Rhaetian, and Ligurian blood, and in many parts of Northern Germany the population is predominantly of Slavonic descent.

The prevalence of "non-Teutonic" features in South Germany, however, cannot be accounted for, as has often been attempted, by the admixture of Celtic blood; for the Celts, according to the evidence of some ancient writers, had the same physical traits as the Teutons; they, too, were blond, fair complexioned, and tall. If Nordics and Aryans are really identical, then we must admit that the Alps and their surroundings harbour, for the most part, ethnic elements of "non-Aryan" derivation. The graves of the Teutonic period predominantly show the Nordic type; evidently less care was bestowed upon the burial of the subdued non-Aryans.<sup>12</sup> But in the course of time the non-Teutonic type seems to have got the upper hand throughout South Germany, Austria and elsewhere. Only in the North German plains the Teutonic type forms the majority and even there it seems questionable as to whether the Nordic features in a given individual may be taken as an absolute proof of Teutonic descent because the original Slavs also seem to have been blond, blue-eyed, and long-headed; and previous to the advent of the Slavs North Germany was probably inhabited by Mongoloid Finns, these too are a very light-pigmented and, when not crossed with Laps, long-headed race. The German language in many parts of North Germany is of but recent origin, and many a Teutomaniac glorying in his blondness may be owes his proud distinctive sign to Slav or Finnic ancestors. The German cultural centre of gravitation, moreover, lies in the land of the round-headed and relatively dark Swabians and Franks, and not in Mecklenburg or in Pomerania, where the long-headed blonds are most numerous. As already said, the displacement of the Germanic by non-Germanic racial traits might also be accounted for by environmental influences, such as intensive brain work, better food, mountainous surroundings, instead of racial crossings, but this theory is rejected by race dogmatists.

The truth is that neither of these two theories seems consistent



with the race dogma. We must either admit that the present racial status of Europe is the effect of extensive crossings in historic or prehistoric times ; then we have no reason to ascribe all the merit of our European culture to one race only, be it Aryan or not ; on the contrary, we must in fairness own, that all the various elements of the European racial conglomerate have had each a share in this achievement, and that it is not possible to determine to which the biggest is due : or we make local and environmental influences responsible for the variegated racial appearance of Europe. This, however, would imply a surprisingly strong and quick-working effect of environmental conditions, and we would have to assume that man is made of an exceedingly plastic material, an assumption which at once must shatter the whole structure of the race dogma built, as it is, on the invariability of the extant races.

One might also imagine that in crossings between Nordics and non-Nordics the characteristics of the latter remain dominant, so that in such blends the Aryan features are always pushed into the background (Eugen Fischer). But should we then not be compelled also to admit the preponderance of the mental patrimony of the non-Nordic races as regards European civilization ?

#### NORDIC TYPE AND ANCIENT CLASSIC CULTURE

Much space is taken up in the theories of the race dogmatists by the allegations that the ancient Hellenes and Romans were much more Nordic-Aryan than the present-day Greeks and Italians, among whom the Nordic types now form but an insignificant percentage of the population.<sup>13</sup> These Nordic elements, they maintain, brought about the florescence of the classic culture, while their extinction or dilution was the cause of its fall. We shall in the course of our disquisitions return to this chief argument of all race theories ; here we have to discuss only the anthropological aspect of the question, and for this purpose it will suffice to consider the Hellenes alone.

That among the several races from the fusion of which the ancient Hellenes proceeded there was also a Nordic element is, for more than one reason, highly probable. The modern Greeks, as Luschan shows, are composed of a long-headed element (cephalic index 75) and an extremely round-headed one (index 88). The long-headed types presumably have their roots partly in a Nordic, and partly in a Mediterranean (Semitic ?) element. The round-heads seem to be the descendants of an ethnic stratum of Western Asiatic origin which seems to be traceable also in prehistoric Greek skulls.<sup>14</sup>

Round cranial and facial characteristics are indeed distinctly marked also in some antique sculptures, of which the most conspicuous examples are the busts of the greatest of all the Greeks, Socrates, and his disciple, Plato, whose original name was Aristocles, but who, according to Neanthes, was dubbed Plato (i.e. the Broad) on account of his broad forehead.<sup>15</sup> The physiognomy of Socrates especially was markedly un-Nordic. As a proof of the distinct preponderance of the Nordic element in the racial compound of old Hellas some modern authorities have brought into prominence the frequency of blondness among the ancient Greeks. It is true there exists evidence to this effect, dating from the fifth century A.D., namely, the relation of a Jewish physician named Adamantios, who described the hair of the Greeks as inclined to blond or light brown in colour, and as soft and wavy in texture ; but this description is somewhat ambiguous and more of a poetic than scientific character.<sup>16</sup> Blond or light brown hair also is often given by the poets to youthful heroes, as indeed blond hair in juveniles is not unfrequent even among very dark peoples. Representations of an artistic or poetical character, in any case, are not to be valued as anthropological evidence, for they notoriously are often influenced by erotic or æsthetic predilections, such as the well-known partiality of dark males for blond women, a factor which may have contributed also to the frequency of blond beauties in mythological and erotic pictorial representations in the works of art of the Ancients and of the Renaissance, where the males on the same paintings at times are dark. Aristophanes ridicules Cleon as "pyrrhopipes", that is one who ogles after golden-curved boys. It seems that the blond type was more frequent among juveniles. One must not overlook the fact, moreover, that the term "xanthos" commonly translated by the word "blond" in reality comprises all shades from yellow to brown, and is applied, for instance, also to sunburnt skin, horses, cattle, bees, roast meat and earth, objects which cannot exactly be qualified as yellow.<sup>17</sup> In the same way it is open to doubt whether the epithet "glaukopsis" applied to Pallas Athene means blue-eyed or bright-eyed, or whether it is not derived from the owl, the symbolic bird of this goddess.<sup>18</sup> To later generations, at least, the conception of blue eyes seems to have appeared rather queer. Pausanias (i, 14) thought it necessary to explain the blue eyes in a statue of Pallas Athene as due to an African (Lybian) legend ; and Diodorus (i, 12) refers to the Egyptian conception of the blue eyes of this goddess being only the symbol of the azure air of which she is the ruler, for it would be absurd,

he says, to believe, as some Greeks do, that her eyes were really blue.

In the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics* blue eyes are said to be a sign of courage and spirit, while white-blue (light blue ?) eyes and also "too much black", yellowish and greenish ones, are indicative of cowardice. The same work contains a great many interesting remarks from which one may gather that the ethnic material observed must have been of a highly multiform character.

The mere fact that the blondness of the Teutons, Gauls, Scythians, Thracians, etc., struck the ancient Greek as something strange must be regarded as a proof that fair people were not common among them. Herodotus (iv, 108) speaks of a Nordic tribe, the Budines, who were all blond and blue-eyed, and he expressly says that these people are dissimilar in face and colour from the Hellenes that live among them. It is also remarkable that the Greeks picture their highest gods as being dark-haired. Xenophanes points out that the Negroes imagine their gods to be black and flat-nosed, while the blond Thracians believed theirs blond and blue-eyed. Had blondness been the rule among his own people and their gods, Xenophanes would surely have quoted the Greeks as the example nearest at hand. And just the greatest of the Greek gods, Zeus and Hera, were represented as dark-haired (*Iliad*, i, 528 ; xv, 102 ; xvii, 209). Poseidon is called the "black-curled god" (*Iliad*, xiii, 563 ; xv, 174 ; xx, 144 ; *Odyssey*, ix, 536). Even Apollo, who as a sun-god had a fair claim to blondness, in pictorial representations was conceived as black-haired. Sophocles expressly says<sup>19</sup> that, although the poets call Apollo golden-curled, no painter would venture to paint him with golden hair instead of black, because the picture would then be disparaged. And likewise in his *Antigone* the chorus speaks of black as the common hair colour, just the same as Plato in his *Statesman*.

The statues of youthful deities, and especially of goddesses, according to Athenæus, were given blond hair ; and indeed in many ancient works of painted sculpture traces of this are still visible. Also red paint was frequently used for the hair, as may be seen in Tanagra statuettes and in many other sculptures.<sup>20</sup> Paintings and mosaics show black and brown hair as well as blond.

In a tympanum group from the Acropolis Zeus has blue-black hair and beard, while Heracles, standing before him, is blond.<sup>21</sup> Pallas Athene is sometimes figured with black hair,<sup>22</sup> sometimes with red. On the Greek vase-paintings, of which an extraordinary large number have been found, the figures are nearly always black-



haired, though also red, yellow, and white heads occur. The black-figured vases, on the contrary, always show the typical pointed red beards combined with black hair, this combination evidently having suggested itself for pictorial reasons, namely, because of the necessity to make the beard stand out against the black body, and the hair against the red background. To what length ancient artists sometimes were influenced by such considerations may be seen from the two wonderfully realistic antique Negro heads in the Berlin Museum (Nos. 2,203 and 4,049) where only the hair has been left unpainted. From the foregoing we may assume that lighter types were certainly not infrequent in ancient Greece, but as a whole the population was certainly dark complexioned.

Greek sculptures of the Archaic period or style are often remarkable for slanting, almond-shaped eyes, even goggle-eyes, huge noses, a "frozen" smile, pointed protruding beards, curly hair, and other un-Nordic, nay Asiatic features.<sup>23</sup>

But such forms can hardly be considered as attempts towards life-like artistic representation; they are simply stereotype copies of traditional Asiatic or Egyptian forms, at times determined in style by religious or superstitious traditions. But Greek portrait busts of the later period also often look anything but Nordic.

The results of anthropological research are also confirmed by historical or linguistical evidence. A glance at the map of Europe suffices to show the pre-Aryan influences in the geographical names of nearly all countries, and the same holds good also as regards the history, language, and mythology of all European nations.<sup>24</sup> The languages of the pre-Aryans have disappeared nearly everywhere, but their descendants assuredly still live among us, and they too have contributed to build up the edifice of European civilization.

#### THE PRE-ARYANS IN GREECE

The ancient Greek historiographers frequently expatiate about the Pelasgi and the Lelegi, who in remote times inhabited the peninsula and spoke a language which was different from that of the Hellenes. The whole of Greece, Thucydides states, was once held in the possession of the Barbarians. Herodotus relates that in his own time the tongue of the Pelasgi could still be heard in some localities and that this tongue was a Barbarian speech.<sup>25</sup>

Scholars for a long time slighted these unmistakable testimonies

of the ancient writers, but modern research finally proved them true in every respect. Kretschmer, Kiessling, Fick and others furnished ample proof for the supposition that in prehistoric times the whole of Greece and Asia Minor was populated by a single race which was neither Indogermanic nor Semitic, but an independent group of its own. Phonetic laws, word formation, and vocabulary are exactly the same on both sides of the Ægean Sea. The fact is, that geological considerations make it evident that in a not very far distant epoch of the history of the earth, land was where the Ægean Sea is now, and the mountain tops of this land formed the Isles of Greece. By this bridge of land it was that in olden times the Asiatic race passed over to Greece and farther on north-west as far as the Alps, where they constituted the racial stock of the peoples living there. At a later period, when the barrier of the inland lakes in the Danube plains had disappeared, there followed from the north the immigration of the Indogermans, which resulted in the Hellenization of Greece. In this way Greece became a land of ethnic inter-mixture. "Even our learned lexicographers," says Kiessling, "lay stress upon the fact that a considerable part of the Greek vocabulary cannot be explained etymologically, because it is of alien, non-Greek derivation."

This is especially striking in geographical names, of which the great authority Heinrich Kiepert asserts only an insignificant percentage are of true Greek origin. They cannot be explained, Kiessling adds, either from the Greek or the Indogermanic, and just the best known names baffle all attempts at derivation; Athens, Tanagra, Argos, Mycenæ, Tyrins, Thebes, Corinth, Olympos, Parnassos, Larissa are true foreign words in Greece.

The conformity of the geographical names in Greece and in Asia Minor is obvious. The Carians in particular, once the most important tribe of Asia Minor, have left a great many conspicuous vestiges in Hellas, such as the sanctuary of Zeus Karios in Boetia, the castle of Karia in Megara and Kar, name of the legendary first king of this township; and even Aristotle relates that the province of Argolis—the part of the Peloponnesus just opposite to Athens—was formerly inhabited by Carians. Herodotus, who, though a native of a Dorian town, was Ionian and Athenian in his innermost heart, states that the Ionians, and more particularly the Athenians, were originally Pelasgi and that they only later on adopted the Hellenic speech, in contradistinction to the Dorians who were genuine Hellenes.<sup>26</sup> Thus just the one Greek tribe which

created the noblest part of Greek culture and whose pre-eminence is attested by the names of Athens and Homer, was of non-Hellenic extraction.

How thoroughly the Hellenes had been influenced by non-Aryan elements is visible also in their mythology and their culture in general. Speaking of this, Curtius says: "Proud as the Greeks were of their autochthony, they yet connected everywhere the foundation of their social life with the advent of highly gifted strangers, who being endowed with superhuman strength and wisdom established a new kind of order in all relations between man and man."<sup>27</sup> Semitic deities, religion and folklore, he says, inextricably fused with the Greek national and cultural consciousness, as one at once realizes when thinking of the myth of Cronos, the Titans, Heracles, Minos, and Moloch. Even such a specially Aryan god as Zeus was given a Semitic adoptive father. Most of what this famous historiographer of the Greek world believed to be of Semitic origin has since been recognized as non-Semitic; nevertheless there still remain unquestionably Semitic influences of great moment. Herodotus says that the gods of the Hellenes came from the Pelasgi.

In recent times the science of the spade has brought to light in Crete a prehistoric culture of undreamt-of splendour. It reaches as far back as the fourth millennium B.C., and attained its zenith in the second millennium; it forms the connecting link between the civilizations of the ancient Orient, Egypt, and Greece. Its direct offshoot is the Mycenæan culture, but it sent forth its light far beyond the boundaries of the Greek world and a flash reached the very midst of the Austrian Alps, in the so-called Hallstadt culture, a striking evidence of the connexions between Anterior Asia and the European Alps. The bearers of this Cretan culture were evidently that Asiatic race of which mention has already been made. The pictorial representations still extant show that there was little Nordic in them.<sup>28</sup> The well-known discoverer of this sphere of civilization, Sir Arthur Evans, in a lecture delivered in 1912 before the Society of Hellenic Studies, pointed out that Greek civilization has for a long time ceased to be considered as a unique prodigy, because it is now known that it has its roots in a preceding Cretan culture and its ramifications. One can hardly go too far in estimating the value of these influences on Greek cultural evolution. Also Heinrich Bulle says that Cretan art as regards genius of conception is in nowise behindhand that of the subsequent Greek development.



## THE LIGURIANS

Another widespread race of ancient times was the Ligurian or, as the Greeks called them, the Lygian people, whose language has entirely died out. The importance of the Ligurians becomes evident from the fact that the geographer Eratosthenes named the whole of western Europe the Ligustic Peninsula. Their principal centre in Italy was the territory around the Gulf of Genoa, from whence they expanded over the basin of the River Po whose original name was Bodincus, a Ligurian word. The Ligurians also went southward as far as Mount Vesuvius, which is likewise a Ligurian word. They occupied, furthermore, a large part of the Alps, Southern France, and the North of Spain, where they crossed with the Iberians. Tacitus mentions a widely spread people of their name in Germany. Numerous geographical names are derived from their language, for instance Alps, Rhine (isonymic with the rivulet Reno near Bologna), the German name of the Lake of Constance, Bodensee (same root as Bodincus), Geneva (cf. Genoa), the rivers Main and Moselle, Worms, perhaps also Vindobona (the ancient name of Vienna), and so on. According to F. Stolz the Ligurians formed the chief stock of the original population of the Tyrol.<sup>29</sup>

That the Ligurians were of non-Indogermanic stock is a well-established fact laid down by Müllenhoff. It should be noted also that the classical historians found traces of them even in Anterior Asia, evidently their country of origin. In Italy they were displaced by the Etruscans, in most other countries by the Celts. These latter, whose wide range of dispersion is still recognizable in a great number of place names in Germany, Austria, and elsewhere, furnish a striking proof of how even a mighty race is wiped out from the surface of the earth.

## THE ETRUSCANS

The Etruscans (Tusci, Tyrrheni or Tyrseni, the Tursha of the Egyptians) left behind them some 8,500 inscriptions and a manuscript found in Croatia; their language, however, has remained sealed to us till to-day. Only one fact seems established beyond all doubt, namely, that they were not Indogermans nor Nordics.<sup>30</sup>

According to classical tradition (vide Herodotus, i, 94) the Etruscans came from Asia Minor. Some of them settled in the isle of Lemnos, opposite the Asiatic mainland, where their once presence is evidenced by inscriptions; their main body, however,

wandered further on and took possession of the whole of Upper Italy from sea to sea, with Etruria (present-day Tuscany) <sup>31</sup> as their centre. In South Italy they occupied Campania. Livy (v, 33) says of them that previous to the advent of the Romans they ruled far and wide, by land and by sea, and that the two seas by which Italy is bounded, the Tuscan and the Adriatic Sea, bear Etruscan names.

In their struggle with the Romans they had already attained the upper hand when all of a sudden their power collapsed on account of their being attacked simultaneously, as if by common accord, in the North by the invading Gauls, and in the South by their Italic neighbours.

Rome was for some time under their domination. According to Roman tradition the Royal dynasty of the Tarquini had come from Etruria, and in fact some members, Tarquinius, Tanaquil, Aruns, bore Etruscan names. Also the words Rome, Tiber, and the names of the most ancient Roman families are of Etruscan origin. Schulze <sup>32</sup> summarizes his comprehensive research in this respect as follows: "Thus in and around Rome Etruscan family names are met with in such abundance that we must take them into account when considering the origin of the Eternal City. Rome herself, says Dionysius of Halikarnassus, was by many historians believed to be an Etruscan city. The study of the history and development of the Latin language, to which I must here purposely restrict myself, geographically illustrates the Roman legend connecting Æneas with Tarchon and Tyrsenos. The Tiber near Rome was once, as the poet says, a Tuscan river. And beyond the Tiber the Etruscan tribes penetrated far south and founded many cities." It is Roman tradition also which ascribes an Etruscan origin to one of those original Roman tribes from the union of which the city took her birth. In many arts and handicrafts, but especially in architecture, the Etruscans had gained a high standard of perfection, they were the teachers of the Romans. Roman religion likewise evinces Etruscan influence. Tombstone inscriptions seem to indicate matriarchal institutions.

Etruscans also settled to a considerable extent in the Alps. Roman historians distinctly say that especially the Rhaetians, who inhabited the Grisons, the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Upper Bavaria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were of Etruscan stock. Livy (v, 33) says: "The Alpine tribes also are doubtless of Etruscan origin, especially the Rhætians, who under the influence of their environment, relapsed into barbarism—preserving from their former state

nothing beyond the sound of their speech, and even this not unspoiled." Also Trogus Pompeius, of whose historical work Justinus gives us an abstract, says that the Rhætians came from the Etruscans (Justinus, xx, 5).<sup>33</sup> These evidences from classical authorities have been confirmed in our times by numerous discoveries of Etruscan inscriptions and objects found in Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Grisons, near Bozen, Matrei, Sondrio, Nonsberg, Hallstadt, Watsch, St. Margarethen, Dellach, and other places. It should be mentioned also that Steub<sup>34</sup> first traced the derivation of many place names in Tyrol from Etruscan roots, and in this was supported by leading philologists and archæologists, among them Mommsen, Müllenhoff, and Pott. The small village of Rum near Innsbruck probably comes from the same Etruscan root as mighty Rome.

The physical type of the Etruscans has come down to us in pictures, statues, etc. Mommsen<sup>35</sup> on the authority of the classical historians, states that in stature they were dissimilar to the tall Hellenes and Romans; they were of a short, thick-set growth with large heads and brawny arms; in paintings they appear rather dark, though besides some with coal-black hair, some light blond ones were found. They seem to have resembled in some ways the Alpine type, but most of the crania found in Etruscan tombs are dolichocephalic or mesocephalic, evidently of the Mediterranean racial type.<sup>36</sup> In all probability there existed two distinct racial types within the Etruscans, for we know that this people was divided strictly into a ruling and a serving caste.

Weege points out the "utterly un-Greek heads" on Etruscan paintings and that their race and culture indicates Asiatic origin. In his remarkable work he offers a rich illustrative material for the study of racial types.<sup>37</sup> That the vast majority of the populations in the Alpine countries is of non-Indogermanic derivation seems beyond all doubt. Especially in the Tirol, as A. Deutschmann<sup>38</sup> shows, Teutonic colonization was comparatively thin, so that the pre-Teutonic element was by no means displaced. Also certain linguistic peculiarities in the Alpine dwellers and in the South German populations in general seem to point toward Etruscan influences.<sup>39</sup> The German Swiss say "Khas" for cheese instead of the German equivalent "Käse", which perhaps is an Etruscan-Asiatic heritage, as also the German fashion of putting the stress upon the first syllable.



## THE IBERIANS

Another widely spread non-Aryan race were the Iberians, whose speech continues to live in the Basque language spoken by some 900,000 people in the North of Spain and South of France, which bears no relation to any other living European tongue. The Iberian language was once heard all over Spain, the South of France, Sicily, Lower Italy, Britain, Ireland (Hibernia-Iberia), and Scotland,<sup>40</sup> as is evidenced by phonetic similarities between the Basque and South French dialects, inscriptions, place names, and many common usages.<sup>41</sup> Also classical historians support this view. Some single branches of the Iberians, for example, the Turdetanians, had attained a very high level of civilization.

Iberian tribes probably once also lived in Italy, in the Alps, and in the Danubian countries. W. von Humboldt connects the Carpi, after whom the Carpathian Mountains were called, with the Iberian tribe of the Carpetanians. The name of a Rhætian tribe, of the Berunensi who once were renowned for their lead mining, is probably related to the Basque word "beruna", which means lead. Wirth derives Vosges (mountains) from the Basques (or Vasques). Iberian tribes are also traceable in the Caucasian Mountains, and the opinion has even been advanced in recent times that these Caucasian Iberians must have been the forefathers of the West European ones, a surmise which does not seem improbable in view of the circumstance that comparative philology tries to trace relationships between the Basque and the Caucasian tongues, and that also the comparison between place names and names of peoples seems to point in this direction.

## FINNS AND MAGYARS

Among the non-Indogermanic languages in Europe it was the Finnic and its relatives that principally obtained. These languages belong to that widely spread Ural-Altaic family which comprises the Finns, Lapps, Esths, Livs, Magyars, Turks, Samoyeds, Ostiaks, Mongols, Japanese and so forth. The centre of dispersion of the Finnic people to-day is Finland, but also in Scandinavia, whose very name is derived from a Finnic root,<sup>42</sup> there still live some Finns. Finns are to be found all around the Baltic shores, as far down as the German frontier, and finally also in vast parts of Russia where Herodotus first found them. In ancient times they presumably even extended farther south-west, as some single linguistic traces in the Alpine countries seem to betray.

In their home country, Finland, the Finns have developed an extraordinarily high culture, in no respect inferior to that of even the most advanced branch of the Indogermanic family, in some respects it is greatly superior to the cultural standard of most of the European "Aryans". That the Magyars except their race politicians are a cultured nation no one will venture to contest. Altogether in present-day Europe there live about 23 millions of people belonging to the Ural-Altaic language family. The Bulgarians, too, are a Finnic tribe, despite their Slav speech, and also the Roumanians have an appreciable strain of Finnic blood in their veins, while on their part the Finns and Magyars have undergone strong Nordic or Indogermanic racial influences.

#### NON-ARYAN FEATURES IN EUROPE

From the evidence of the vast anthropological and prehistoric material collected in recent times the inference seems warranted that non-Nordic tribes immigrating from Asia during the late Stone Age dispersed over vast parts of Europe carrying with them from their original homes their domestic animals and cultural implements. This assumption is supported by legendary traditions, by the classical historians, as also by folklore, inscriptions, place names, etc. The much-read German explorer, A. Wirth, summarizes his observations in the following words: "The non-Aryan origin of the majority of the Europeans must be admitted as proved and recognized by scientists."<sup>43</sup> He put forth a hypothesis according to which the historically ascertained non-Aryan tribes of South and Central Europe, namely the Pelasgi, Etruscans, Iberians, Ligurians, and also the Berbers of North Africa, the Hittites of Anterior Asia, the Circassians of the Caucasus and some others, were all members of one and the same racial family which he calls the "Kas Rasse". This race, during a long period of migrations, commencing, it may be, several thousand years previous to the first appearance of the Indogermans, poured forth from the Caucasus, and dispersed over the whole of Anterior Asia, the Mediterranean countries, and Central Europe. In support of this thesis Wirth adduces a vast material.

According to this theory it is not surprising that there are striking similarities between place names of regions most distant from each other. The Kas peoples, according to Wirth, formed the connecting link. From Hindu Kush to Gibraltar the place names are all of the same. The Eneti occur in Asia Minor, but as Veneti

they crop up also in Italy and in the Alps. The Lake of Constance was called *Lacus Venetus*. *Mons Venetus* lies in the Pyrenees. The Tauern range in the Austrian Alps may be connected with a Mount Tabor in Palestine, with Tabriz, Taurus, etc. (perhaps also with the Slav-Turkish word "Tabor" = stronghold). Especially in the Alps, geographical names often seem to point toward Asia, e.g. Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, Styria, Lech, Tegernsee, Enns, Gastein, Möll, Sill, Rhein, Brixen, Bregenz, and numerous others. A widely spread root frequently recurring in river names probably signifying "flowing" is the syllable "dan". It is contained for instance in the river names Danubius, Rhodanus (Rhône), Eridanus, (Po), Danaster (Dniester), Danaprus (Dniepr), Don, Duna, and Jordan. Rivers of the name Jardanos occur in Crete, Elis, and Lydia; in the Caucasus we find the Ardon river, and in north-east Siberia the rivers Aldan, Korkodon, Uliandina and Lawdon. The root word dan is also contained in the name Engadin. In the language of the Georgians, a Caucasian tribe, the root word "din" means "to flow".<sup>44</sup> These are but a few examples. Wirth provides a whole host of them.

Non-Aryan influences are also traceable in the North of Europe.<sup>45</sup> In the Scandinavian and Frisian languages the article is put after the substantive, as it is in the Finnic and Basque languages. The Thunderer Thor of Teutonic mythology reminds one of the Finnic thunder bird Turul, which was also the totem of Attila. The word "deutsch" (= German) comes from "Theudiscus" and the Gothic root "thiod"—in old German "diet" (= common people), in Latvian "tauta", in Breton "teut". In the Lapp language "teudo" means man. Therefore it may be that the term "deutsch" comes from a word originally applied to the subdued non-Germanic masses. The social ranks of the old Teutonic peoples seem to have had origin in racial differences, as may be inferred from the Eddaic description of the physical types of the nobles, yeomen, and serfs who worshipped different gods.

From a critical study of the anomalies of the Teutonic languages as contrasted with the common Indogermanic linguistic features, especially as regards the shifting of consonants and accents, as also the decay of the inflexional forms, Feist arrives at the conclusion that modifications of the Teutonic languages must have taken place owing to strong non-Aryan influences. It is most remarkable that the shifting of consonants coincides roughly speaking with the location of the Alpine race on the map of Europe and that it displays its greatest intensity in the centre of dispersion of this race.



A very considerable portion of the Teutonic vocabulary admits no explanation from Indogermanic roots. Feist estimates these alien elements at about one-third of the entire stock of Teutonic root words, and he concludes from these and other reasons that the Teutons originally were non-Aryans who in the course of time lost their vernacular speech and adopted a foreign tongue, which in their mouths underwent many essential transformations.<sup>46</sup> The name "German", be it observed by the way, repeatedly turns up on Celtic, Iberian, and Western Asiatic ground. Similarly Hommel likened the Burgundians to the Berekynds, who in the thirteenth century B.C. invaded Asia Minor.

In addition other authorities, Penka, Nörrenberg, F. Kauffmann, Hirt, K. Wessely among them, have emphasized<sup>47</sup> that alien influences, namely Etruscan, Rhætian, Finnic, and Celtic elements, must be made responsible for the repeated shifting of consonants the Teutonic languages underwent in the course of their evolution. Verner's Law on certain transformations in the Germanic languages can only be explained by a comparison with the Finnic. It coincides strikingly with Setälä's Law in the Finnic language. Many interconnexions in other respects between Teutons and Finns are traceable. This is the result arrived at also by Friedrich Braun,<sup>48</sup> who continued Nikolaus Marr's researches on the Caucasian or as he calls them, the "Japhetic" languages. We are told, for example, that the imperfect of the weak verb (ending in *te*) which except in the Teutonic is found in no other Indogermanic language, is derived from the Japhetic, or that the ancient name of the Black Forest, Abnoba, is explained by the Japhetic *abna* = wood and the plural ending *ba*; nay, more, that the very name of the mythical progenitor of the Teutonic race, mentioned by Tacitus as "the earth-born god Tuisto" in the Japhetic language is equivalent to "Son of the Earth". Braun following up Feist's hypothesis of the non-Aryan origin of the Teutons believes that they were probably Indogermanized, by a pre-Celtic wave, whereby the Indogermanic speech suffered manifold modifications. But even assuming Feist's theory, it seems to me that there remains the open question why in their physical characteristics the Teutons are so little like the Caucasian tribes; unless we assume these to have undergone a thorough physical transformation, too.

Scientific research along the most different lines has arrived at the same end, namely, that the actual population of Europe is the result of some thousand years of migrations and crossings of races. These constant ebbings and flowings of ethnic waves

were not restricted to prehistoric times. In the fourth and fifth centuries of our era the Huns dominated large parts of Europe up to the Baltic Sea ; most of the Teutonic tribes, the Ostrogoths, Gepids, Quads, Marcomanni, Suevi, Thuringians, Ripuarian Franks, were conquered and forced to pay tribute and go to war for their overlords. The Visigoths took refuge before them on Roman territory. Byzantium also paid tribute, and even Pope Leo appeared before Attila imploring mercy for Rome. After the death of Attila his sons began to quarrel among themselves and the Huns were driven back to the East. Then came the Avars, also an Ural-Altaic tribe, whom historical sources identify with the Huns. Their rule extended over Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, as far as the Pustertal in Tyrol, at times even up to Middle and North Germany, hordes of Avars settled in Upper Franconia where their physical traits are still said to be recognizable in the population (Wirth). Only Charlemagne succeeded in overcoming their power. The Avars were succeeded by the Slavs who took possession of the deserted land not as invaders, but as peaceful settlers, partly under Avar sovereignty. For a brief time many Slavs were even politically united under one great empire. Slavs settled not only throughout the greatest part of North Germany (Holstein, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Rügen, Pomerania, the Marches, and part of Hanover), but also in Central Germany (Saxony, Lusatia, Upper Franconia). The territory south of Bayreuth was for a long time called " Slavonia ". The names Berlin, Schwerin, Stettin, Brandenburg, Leipzic, Nürnberg, Bamberg, are derived from Slav roots.<sup>49</sup> Slavs also colonized the Austrian Alpine countries up to East Tyrol and Salzburg, as is evidenced by many place names (e.g. Graz). That the Slavs are strongly crossed with non-Aryan elements can easily be proved <sup>50</sup> ; on the other hand, the Czech people have a full measure of German racial strains as is shown for instance by the fact that in Czech as in German the stress is laid on the first syllable.

In the tenth century the Magyars invaded Europe, raiding Germany, Italy, France, for more than fifty years, until finally they suffered a decisive defeat in the terrible battle on the Lechfeld near Augsburg. Then, in the thirteenth century, the Mongol hurricane swept over Europe ; the army of the German knights under Duke Henry the Pious, who opposed them near Liegnitz, was nearly crushed by the overpowering numbers of the enemy ; but the Mongols also had suffered such dreadful losses that they flooded back from Germany. In Russia, however, they ruled some

250 years (until 1480); numerous Russian aristocratic families are of Mongol and Tartar origin.<sup>51</sup> Finally, as was the case with the Huns, their might crumbled away owing to internal quarrels.

In passing mention may be made here of the Arabs, whom Charles Martell beat back at Poitiers (732). In Spain they ruled some eight hundred years (711-1492). In the Turkish wars, lasting from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, Vienna was twice besieged by the Turks, and only Prince Eugene of Savoy drove them for all time from Hungary.

This many thousand years' struggle between the East and the West could not fail to effect at the same time extensive racial crossings. The last immigrants from the East were the Gipsies, who dispersed all over Europe. Finally mention must be made of the Jewish strain of blood which since the early Middle Ages has infiltrated all European nations by voluntary and compulsory conversion.

The fact that Europe, despite all the ethnic storms that swept over her from Asia, preserved Indogermanic speech, must surely be valued as a proof of racial vigour. In the first place, however, it was not the physical superiority of the Indogermans which effected the victory. That Europe was preserved from becoming Hunnic or Mongolic is due to Roman civilization, whose mighty structure, although in its decadence, held back the waves of wild horsemen. Attila could overthrow the Teutons; but the Roman general Aetius, under whose command, it is true, were also Teutons, was yet strong enough to resist him, though only at the price of enormous sacrifices. For the administration of his empire, however, Attila was thrown back upon the Roman officials. Upon the death of Attila the Hunnic might collapsed; Rome lives to this very day in the great organizations of State and Church, and in our civilization.<sup>52</sup>

This Roman civilization, in any case, is by no means a purely Indogermanic creation. Its roots everywhere reach deeply down into the pre-Aryan cultures of the Mediterranean peoples and of the ancient Orient; later it was most strongly influenced by the Hellenes whose pre-Aryan cultural foundations have been discussed in the foregoing chapter. Christianity then brought new "light from the East", the sacred books of Israel became the foundation of all subsequent moral cultures. In the time of the Crusades again the superior civilization of the Orient was fecundating the Occident. In the Arabian states of Spain a wonderful blossoming of culture developed as early as the ninth and tenth centuries,



such as for hundreds of years remained without a parallel in the Christian countries of Europe.<sup>53</sup> Also the contributions of the Jews in modern cultural development are doubtlessly very great,<sup>54</sup> and in recent times the Japanese began to enrich science, after having previously influenced our artistic sense. Thus it no longer sounds paradoxical when Wirth puts the question as to whether the culture of the world, as it is to-day, has sprung more from Aryan or non-Aryan sources. An exact answer, it is true, cannot be given, for the "Aryans" of to-day are an amalgamation of many races.

### GENIUS AND RACE

Yet race theorists do not throw up the game. They fairly own that Europe to-day is a variegated confusion of races ; but claim all elements of any value for cultural development to have come from Teutonic or Aryan sources, and this not only in the Teutonic but also in the Romance countries. Ludwig Woltmann,<sup>55</sup> to make good this thesis has devoted an enormous amount of work in examining pictures of the geniuses of all countries, chiefly, however, of France and Italy, seeking to detect in them the characteristic features of the Teutonic race. His book certainly seems to prove a considerable Nordic admixture in those peoples. True, the coincidence of all Teutonic racial traits in one and the same individual is but seldom found ; therefore the cases enumerated by Woltmann could at best be "mongrels" and he could not avoid admitting this, when he qualifies as cross-breeds between the Teutonic and Mediterranean brunet types, for instance, Luther, Goethe, Beethoven, Michelangelo, Raphael, Dante, Shakespeare. How is this consistent with his assertion that the *entire* European civilization, in the Slav and Romance countries, also, is the work of the Teutonic race (p. 293) ? The answer he gives is bewildering : "Dante, Raphael, Luther, etc., are geniuses, not because of their being cross-breeds, but in spite of this. Their genius is the heritage of the Teutonic race !" Previously (p. 113) Woltmann maintained that the Teutonic race through crossings with brunet types had suffered a decided physical deterioration, and that this signifies also a mental debasement. One can hardly imagine what glorious cultural heights humanity might have attained if Nature in creating her master spirits had taken advice from the race faddists !

A detailed criticism of what Woltmann says cannot be given here. For the support of his thesis he adduces much material

which, however, ought to be examined with the utmost distrust. He, for instance, declares every man of genius to be a Teuton, whose name only sounds Teutonic. He himself, however, repeatedly points out that the owners of Teutonic names cannot always be considered as Teutons, for such names were frequently adopted by the conquered. Are all our contemporaries who have Biblical names Semites; and those who have received Teutonic ones, Teutons? Also his inferences from portraits seem little reliable. Thus he says of Petrarch, "his eyes are painted in that clear, yellowish-grey colour by which the old painters used to render blue eyes." Everybody else would simply conclude that Petrarch had yellowish-grey eyes. Woltmann, however, knows that Italian painters used this tinge to render blue eyes. Very likely blue paint was not yet invented at that time. If, despite all, he fails to detect decisive Teutonic characteristics in the pictures examined, then at last he attributes to them "tall stature", "pleasant eyes", "blue spots in the iris", "beautiful hair", "the facial traits of the Teutonic race", or a "pale" or a "rosy" complexion, sufficient in Woltmann's eyes as an evidence for Teutonic extraction or at least a Teutonic strain of blood. Ariosto, for instance, had black hair and eyes and a dark face. Woltmann, however, consoles himself with the statement that the other parts of his body were extremely white, a peculiarity which evidently is only found with Teutons. Michelangelo, Dante, and many others were also dark. Even Gobineau had, as Woltmann himself stated, brown hair and eyes.

The universal expansion of the Roman Church and also the French Revolution are lauded as emanations of Teutonic grandeur, while Chamberlain on the ground of the very same race hypothesis, holds them to be the offsprings of anti-Aryan tendencies. The Renaissance, apotheosized by Woltmann as a flower of Teutonic genius, is in the eyes of Gobineau, who was a stout Catholic, the quintessence of rank sensuality, and therefore an emanation of an anti-Teutonic racial spirit.<sup>56</sup>

The truth is that the outward appearance of great men not unfrequently clashes fatally with our common notion of the Teutonic racial type. Take for example Chamberlain's lofty description of the Teutonic type: "Large, beaming celestial eyes, golden hair, gigantic stature, harmony of musculature, an elongated skull which by the ceaselessly pulsating passion-tortured brain is driven forward out of the circular line of animal ease, the oval face expressive of an exalted soul-life."

However, it does not seem that geniuses as a rule come up to this standard. Above all their crania in most cases approached the "circular line of animal ease", as Chamberlain so nicely puts it. Bismarck, Luther, Laplace, Napoleon, Pascal, Raphael, Beethoven, Haydn, Schubert, are a few examples of round-headedness among men of genius; nay, more, it even seems that hyperbrachycephaly, the extreme form of round-headedness assumed to begin at index 85, is found frequently among them. The skull of Schiller with the index 84, comes close upon it, Kant's index was 88.5, that is to say, he was distinctly hyperbrachycephalic, Hamerling's was 85.3, Schopenhauer 86, Leibnitz even 99.3.<sup>57</sup> Isn't it a pity? What might these people have been able to achieve had they but been long-skulled! Chamberlain's "giant-stature" does not fit in any better. A strikingly large number of geniuses have been under middle-size, so that some authorities even came to consider shortness of stature as characteristic in men of genius.<sup>58</sup>

The pigmentation of the hair, eyes, and skin also in many geniuses was dark, as Woltmann himself amply proves in his works. Lombroso even advanced the opinion that genius and dark pigmentation are coincident. On Goethe and Beethoven, for example, we possess studies which take very carefully into account all contemporaneous evidences.<sup>59</sup> Goethe had black hair, brown eyes, yellowish in later life, a distinctly dark complexion, oblique yellow teeth, and a slightly crooked nose, which even excited the suspicion of some modern anti-Semites. He was not particularly tall, but seemed so owing to his upright bearing. Beethoven was short and corpulent; he had coal-black hair, dark eyes and skin. His face was quite ugly, with strong protruding jaws (prognathy), receding forehead and flat, thick nose. One may easily trace in Beethoven's face slightly negroid traits. His skull was very large. Luschan found in his cranium very primitive, Neanderthaloid characteristics, and advanced the opinion that musical talents might be a sort of atavism. Goethe as well as Beethoven may be taken as belonging to the Alpine racial type<sup>60</sup>; but as these two "non-Aryans" cannot be said to have been devoid of any influence on European cultural development, Woltmann's thesis of the exclusively Teutonic creation of this culture seems daring.

Extant statistical material on the connexion between racial characteristics and giftedness does not seem to corroborate the assumptions of the race theorists. Thus Schliz<sup>61</sup> found in dark, long-headed school children an apparent superiority of giftedness,



then follow in order the round-heads with mixed pigmentation, the blond long-heads, the brunet round-heads, and finally the blond round-heads. Similarly, according to a census taken by Matiegka <sup>62</sup> in Bohemia, the "pure" types, especially the blond Teutonic types, seem to be less gifted than the mixed ones. The same results appear also from a series of other statistics. Woltmann is at no loss for an explanation.<sup>63</sup> No wonder, he says, that at school dark children get better marks than the blond long-heads, as appears from the examinations of Muffang, Ammon, Röse, and others, for at school application and precocity carry the day, and not innate giftedness. But what hymns of triumph on the genius of the Teutonic race Woltmann would have sung had the statistics turned out to be in favour of the blonds?

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*, 1909; L. Reinhardt, *Der Mensch zur Eiszeit in Europa*, 1913; K. Classen, *Die Völker Europas zur jüngeren Steinzeit*, 1912. The most recent state of science is given by E. Pittard, *Les races et l'histoire*, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Hambruch, "Der Schädel von Broken Hill," *AA.*, 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Hoernes, pp. 254, 322; Reinhardt pp. 259, 267, 336. Classen, pp. 8, 43.

<sup>4</sup> This has been maintained by Kollmann and opposed by Schwalbe. Cf. also Jens Paulsen, *AA.*, 1923, who is for Kollmann and Zelizko in *Sitzungsberichte der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1922, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. their last statements on the archæological congress at Christiania, *ZE.*, 1919, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Though Schliz in *AA.*, 1908, has tried this. Cf. Sophus Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas*, 1905; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, etc., 8th ed., 1912; M. Much, *Heimat der Indogermanen*, 1904; Hoernes, i, pp. 404, 545; ii, p. 186; Hirt, *Indogermanen*, 2 vols., 1905-7; Schuchardt, *Alleuropa in seiner Kultur- und Stilentwicklung*, 1919.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. W. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900 (extensive bibliography); J. Deniker, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, 1900, and "Les Six Races composant la Population actuelle de l'Europe," in *JAI.*, 1904; Hans Guenther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, 1922. The best recent book is that by Pittard already quoted.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. J. Fleure, "Some Early Neanthropic types in Europe and their Modern Representations," *JAI.*, 1920, p. 12. *The Races of England and Wales*, 1923, and his other studies. The professor of Celtic philology, J. Pokorny, believes that this race comes from the Eskimos, who are Mongoloids though long-skulled.

<sup>9</sup> *Internationales Zentralblatt für Anthropologie*, viii, 1903, p. 154.

<sup>10</sup> Zbinden in *AA.*, 1911, p. 280; cf. also Toldt, in *MWAG.*, 1911, and Frizzi, *MWAG.*, 1910.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. G. Parsons, "Anthropological Observations on German Prisoners of War," *JAI.*, 1919, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> In France in the same grave are frequently found skeletons of German (Frank) males together with females of a small growth, which Lapouge considers belong to a special race (*homo contractus*). Lapouge in *Race et Milieu Social*, 1909, p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> In Italy the pure blond type is 3 per cent, the mixed blond 9.3 per cent of the population; in Venetia where there are the most, it is 5.4 per cent, and in some places 14.2 per cent. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, "Anthropology of Italy," *JAI.*, 1918, p. 80.

<sup>14</sup> Harold Peaks, "Racial Elements concerned in the first siege of Troy," *JAI.*, 1916, p. 154; Luschan, *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, p. 130. According to Pittard, p. 364, the majority of the old Greek skulls are long, only 11 per cent being round.

<sup>15</sup> Diogenes Laertius, iii, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. M. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*, 1909, vol. i, p. 355, where further material is to be found.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. W. E. Gladstone, *On Colours in Homer* (German edition, 1878). He opines that "xanthos" is equivalent to chestnut-brown, red-brown, brown-red. E. Veckenstedt, *Geschichte der griechischen Farbenlehre*, 1888, designates this as reddish-yellow. Æschylus shows Elektra recognizing that Orestes has been to his father's grave from a lock of hair he has laid there and a footprint. From this Professor Ridgway cleverly deduces that those of royal birth were distinguished from ordinary mortals by having blond hair and being very tall. But then only a small stratum could have been meant, for Elektra says (verse 192) that the lock of hair could have been from the head of no other man.

<sup>18</sup> Philologists as a rule call this brilliant-eyed; this is confirmed by the ancient scholion to Apollonius Rhodios, i, 1280. Schliemann preferred owl-eyed; Veckenstedt blue-eyed.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Athenæus, xiii, 81 (in Lefebure de Villebrun's edition, vol. v, p. 152).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. i.e. R. Kekule v. Stradonitz, *Die griechische Skulptur*, 3rd ed., 1922, pp. 12, 29, 51, 222. The dyed hair is given as brownish-red. Cf. Emil Waldmann, *Griechische Originale*, 1923, pp. 70 et seq. It would be worth consideration as to whether red hair had not some other meaning. Many primitive peoples dye their hair red or yellowish-red; the Somali, Dinka, Bakairi, Carabs, Otomakes, Tasmanians, Melanesians, some Arabs. Cf. O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, 1908, pp. 350 seq. The old Germans and Gauls, and in later days Roman women also, dyed their hair red. Cf. Feist, p. 245; Diodorus, v, 28; Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 61. Many prehistoric skulls show to-day signs of the hair having been dyed red or ochre-colour. Red was the symbol of strength. The blond Thracians dyed their hair blue. Aristotle in his *Problemata*, xiv, 14, 2, gives a remarkable explanation of the light pigmentation of the northern peoples.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the title-page in Martin Schede's *Die Burg von Athen*, 1922.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Ausgewählte griechische Terrakotten*, published by the General Administration of the Royal Museum in Berlin, 1903, pp. 5, 6 et seq.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. M. Collignon, *Geschichte d. griech. Plastik*, i, 1897; *Das Titelbild, den Zeuskopf v. Olympia* (p. 343); *Ueber orientalische Einflüsse auf die griech. Kunst*, pp. 68, 156, 377; A. Springer, *Hdbch. d. Kunstgeschichte*, 1923, i, pp. 52 seq., 188 seq.; K. Woerman, *Gesch. d. Kunst*, 1922, i, p. 209 seq.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the fundamental works H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 1905-7, vol. ii, and S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913.

<sup>25</sup> Further proofs are given by G. Grote, *History of Greece*, German edition, i, pp. 505, 523; cf. Kiesling, "Das ethnische Problem des antiken Griechenlands," *ZE.*, 1905, p. 1009.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Herodotus, i, 56 to 58. Herodotus says that the Hellenes before mixing with the Pelasgi were quite unimportant, and only by this became a numerous people. He emphasizes that the Ionians and particularly the Athenians were to a large extent of non-Hellenic race, and gives several proofs. Cf. i, 146; ii, 50, 51; iv, 145; v, 66, 88; vii, 94, 95; viii, 135, etc.

<sup>27</sup> Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, i, 1, p. 40. Beloch opposes the theory of Oriental influences; H. Wirth, *Homer and Babylon*, maintains it on important evidence.

<sup>28</sup> Lichtenberg, *Die ägäische Kultur*, 1918, tries to prove that the Cretans were Aryans, who helped in a large degree to bring about the blossoming of Egyptian culture. K. Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, 2nd edition, 1912, vol. i, p. 189, says of Lichtenberg's theories that "these are opinions which are not accepted by distinguished researchers".

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Strabo, vii, 1, § 3; Plutarch, *Marius*, 19. With regard to the Ligurians see besides Hirt and Feist, Classen, p. 13 seq., and Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1890-6, vol. iii, pp. 173-93.

<sup>30</sup> Wilser and Woltmann naturally consider them Aryans, but Hirt says: "To-day hardly a single researcher would consider this language to be of Indogermanic origin." In Pauly-Wissowas' *Real-Encyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (revised edition), vol. vi, p. 773, Skutsch says: "The question as to whether the Etruscans were of Indogermanic origin may be considered settled . . . One still only meets with complete dilettants on the abandoned road." In the *Real-Encyklopädie* are further data concerning the Etruscans; cf. also P. O. Schjott, *Die Herkunft der Etrusker* (Christiania), 1910, who considers them to have been Pelasgi. He takes them to have been the creators of the entire Roman culture and the carriers of the ancient culture of the countries of the Euphrates.

<sup>31</sup> It has been often pointed out that Tuscany also in more modern times has produced particularly much talent.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*, p. 581.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also Pliny, *Natural History*, iii, 24, in which many Rhætian peoples are detailed.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Ludwig Steub, *Räthische Ethnologie*, 1854; *Zur Ethnologie der deutschen Alpen*, 1887; also Fr. Stolz in his *Beiträge zur Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte von Tirol*, 1894.



- <sup>35</sup> Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, i, p. 120.
- <sup>36</sup> Cf. Sergi, "Die Etrusker und die alten Schädel des etruskischen Gebietes," in *AA.*, 1914, p. 309.
- <sup>37</sup> Cf. Fritz Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, with 89 text pictures and 101 plates, 1921, especially pp. 57-67.
- <sup>38</sup> Deutschmann, *Zur Entstehung des deutschtiroler Bauernstammes*, 1913.
- <sup>39</sup> See Hirt, i, pp. 21, 57; Feist, pp. 373 seq.
- <sup>40</sup> Rhys considers the Pict inscriptions in Scotland to be Iberian.
- <sup>41</sup> Cf. Gerland in Groeber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 1888, vol. i, pp. 313 seq., and Schuchardt in *MWAG.*, 1915, p. 107. There is ample material in Hirt, i, p. 34, Classen, *a.a.O.*, p. 11 seq., and A. Wirth, p. 100 seq.
- <sup>42</sup> Müllenhoff, vol. ii, pp. 39 et seq.; cf. F. N. Finck, *Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, 1915, p. 59.
- <sup>43</sup> A. Wirth, *Der Gang der Weltgeschichte*, 1913, p. 95; cf. further his *Rasse und Volk*, 1914.
- <sup>44</sup> Perhaps the name Poseidon has some connexion with this. In the time of the Pelasgi this god had power, according to myths, over the inland seas, and Herodotus clearly states the foreign origin of this god. However, "danu" is quoted by Feist, p. 524, as being Avestian and meaning river. Is this Indogermanic or borrowed?
- <sup>45</sup> The following is according to Wirth, *Gang der Weltgeschichte*, p. 256 seq.; also *Rasse und Volk*, p. 250.
- <sup>46</sup> See Feist's latest work, *Indogermanen und Germanen*, 1914.
- <sup>47</sup> Cf. Karl Wessely, "Zur germanischen Lautverschiebung," *Anth.*, xii, p. 540.
- <sup>48</sup> Friedrich Braun, *Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen*, 1922.
- <sup>49</sup> Cf. R. Kleinpaul, *Die Ortsnamen im Deutschen*, 1912, pp. 15, 102.
- <sup>50</sup> The distinguished historian and Conservative publicist Hans Delbrück in his *Regierung und Volkswille*, 1914, p. 3, says: "There can be no doubt that only a small number of present day German people . . . are in the main Germans." A Wirth estimates the German part of the population at one-tenth. But this seems to me to be far too low. The Nordic element forms certainly a great part of the German population. It must also be noticed that the old Slavs seem to have been Nordic to a large extent, and that in some districts Teutons have been Slavized and later on re-Germanized.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. Schieman, *Russland, Polen, und Lievland*, 1886, vol. i, p. 255.
- <sup>52</sup> Where Roman culture did not shine forth any more, or only in a lesser degree, the Aryans succumbed to the onsets coming from Asia, just as in Russia, which only at a later date adopted European culture.
- <sup>53</sup> Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sizilien*, 1877, 2 volumes.
- <sup>54</sup> See the small book by the famous botanist and culture historian M. Schleiden, *Die Bedeutung der Juden für die Erhaltung und Wiederbelebung der Wissenschaften im Mittelalter*, 1887; for more recent information, *Der Juden Anteil am Fortschritt der Kultur*, published by the Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus, Berlin, and Professor Julius Goldstein, *Das deutsche Geistesleben und die Juden* (a lecture delivered in 1914). Further material on this subject may be found in many of the publications of the Philo-Verlag, 13 Lindenstrasse, Berlin, S.W. 68.
- <sup>55</sup> Cf. Woltmann, *Politische Anthropologie*, 1913, pp. 112 and 255; also his later writings, *Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien*, 1905, *Die Germanen in Frankreich*, 1907. Cf. Albrecht Wirth, *Rasse und Volk*, 1914, pp. 105, 121, who rejects Woltmann's physiognomical diagnosis entirely.
- <sup>56</sup> French writers, on the contrary, maintain that the high cultural development in France and Italy is exactly due to the fact that the peoples of these countries have but a small strain of Teutonic blood in their veins. Cf. H. Taine, *Philosophy of Art*, German edition, 1902, vol. i, p. 121. As a point of fact, the Germanic immigration seems to have been numerically small. Cf. Dahn, *Urgeschichte*, vol. i, pp. 239, 242, 260-1, 282-4, 289, 290; vol. iv, p. 299. Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, 1877, vol. i, p. 470 et seq. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 254. Historians

of the Middle Ages point out that the Teutons could not stand the Italian climate and so soon dwindled away. Wars and feuds decreased the Germanic nobility. Cf. Prutz, *Staatengeschichte des Abendlandes*, ii, pp. 209, 234. Yet the materials collected by Woltmann and others seem to indicate that the Nordic element in France is still considerable. D'Auriac, *La Nationalité Française*, 1913, ascribes many evils to the Germanic blood in France; obviously influenced by his nationalism.

<sup>57</sup> The figures are taken from different investigations published in the *Archives for Anthropology*, etc. On Leibniz cf. *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte*, 1902, pp. 471 seq. Professor Krause deduces that "the skull was small and round and was certainly not of the old Germanic type". Leibnitz according to his own statement was of Polish descent. His forefathers wrote their name Leubnicz or Lubenicz. Leibnitz also had dark hair. For Chamberlain Leibnitz is naturally "a true German thinker".

<sup>58</sup> Buschan gives numerous proofs of this in his *Menschenkunde*, 1909, p. 59.

<sup>59</sup> Fritz Stahl, *Wie sah Goethe aus?* 1905; Theodor Frimmel, *Beethoven's äussere Erscheinung*, 1905.

<sup>60</sup> Wirth, *Rasse und Volk*, 1914, p. 105, says: "Almost all anthropologists hold Goethe for a non-Teuton, most of them consider him an Alpine."

<sup>61</sup> *AA.*, 1901, p. 191 et seq.

<sup>62</sup> *MWAG.*, 1898, pp. 122 seq.; cf. also Buschan, *a.a.O.*, p. 116.

<sup>63</sup> Woltmann, *Germanen in Frankreich*, p. 13.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE PROBLEM OF RACE MIXING

#### EFFECTS OF RACIAL CROSSINGS

THE advocates of race privileges very often have advanced the legend that cross-breedings are sterile and inferior in type ; and this has been accepted in good faith and repeated by many a learned professor.<sup>1</sup> Already 442 B.C. when the tribune Caius Canuleius demanded that in Rome marriages between patricians and plebians should be permitted this was denounced by the aristocracy as an attempt to contaminate their blood and to introduce sexual promiscuousness in the manner of wild beasts ; nobody would then know to which race he belonged, and a mongrel could not even be in concord with himself (" *ne secum quidem ipse concors,*" Livy, iv, 2).

Many of the States of America have passed laws against marriages between white and coloured people, implying by " coloured " all those who have in their veins even the smallest strain of black, yellow, or red admixture. Baron Fircks, a Prussian Government statistician, attempted to prove that marriages between Christians and Jews are less prolific. This assertion has been refuted by Boeckh,<sup>2</sup> one of the leading German scientific statisticians, who proved that Fircks had made a methodical error in his calculations and demonstrated that rather the opposite was true. The well-known Norwegian race biologist Mjöen<sup>3</sup> considers as harmonious even crosses between Teutons and Hottentots, while on the other hand he entirely rejects unions between Norwegians and Lapps. To uphold this, he can put forward but one single detailed case, which, of course, does not prove anything. Nietzsche ascribed moral disintegration to the mixing of races, though he scoffed at the usual race theories.

Two of the greatest anthropologists, Friedrich Ratzel and Felix von Luschan, have rejected decisively the legend of biological sterility and disharmony of racial crossings.<sup>4</sup> True, many half-castes in some parts of the world reveal dire physical and moral depravity, but the causes are as a rule due to social environment.



In countries where defenceless coloured women fall an easy prey to European adventurers of the lowest kind, where coloured children are violated, infected, and ruined for life by white gold-diggers, sailors and others, and where, moreover, the half-caste is ostracized owing to the prejudices prevalent on both sides, and is deprived by his birth of every fair chance in life, we hardly can expect to find a numerous, healthy, morally, and intellectually well-developed offspring. Under more favourable conditions the number of highly gifted half-castes is not small ; one of the greatest literary geniuses of the world, Pushkin, the founder of Russian national literature, had a Negro strain in his blood, as also the famous French writers, Dumas father and son. "Pushkin is the national poet of the Russians—there has never been in this world a more true poet than he," says Brückner, the leading German authority on Russian literature.<sup>5</sup> Some others of the greatest Russian writers, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Gorki among others, show in their facial traits distinct signs of a Mongolic admixture. The same holds good with Strindberg. The two Dumas's offer the rare example of literary renown attained by father and son.<sup>6</sup> Dumas the elder, a mulatto, was one of the chief promoters of romanticism in French literature ; it was he, above all, who through his historical dramas and novels awakened among the French people a love for the national past. The great Danish writer, Georg Brandes, praises his overflowing original talent, his gigantic temperament, his herculean gifts ; and finds in him "the sensual fire of the black race".<sup>7</sup> Dumas, the younger, according to Lanson, was a visionary moralist, whose aim and object was the reform of family life and the struggle against social disgregation. Some of his plays are true masterpieces of social depiction. The mulatto Booker Washington should also be mentioned here.

A close study of race mixings has been published by Professor Eugen Fischer, who is a leading German anthropologist and a strong believer in race.<sup>8</sup> He studied in German South Africa the crossings between Boers and Hottentots, that is to say, the blend of two very distant racial elements, the Teutonic and the African. The main result of his exhaustive inquiry is the discovery that Mendel's law on heredity also applies to man. The product of race mixture is not a homogeneous amalgamation of the component races, but a loose blend where in the several individuals the most divers combinations of racial traits appear. The notion that the entire complex of the traits of a given race always reappears in the crossings, is erroneous ; quite the contrary, the several traits

of each component race are transmitted quite independently of one another.

The often repeated assertion that race mixture results in degenerate, sterile, and intellectually and morally inferior products, has been utterly disproved by Fischer, whose anthropometric and statistical investigations demonstrated the contrary, namely, that the race mixtures examined on the whole were more robust, prolific, and healthy than either of the parent races <sup>9</sup> (p. 177). Also the assumption of intellectual and moral inferiority in the crossings as compared to the parent races is declared by Fischer as "quite erroneous" and "nonsensical" (pp. 166, 298). He even ascribes a multitude of fine qualities to the Rehoboth bastards, whom he calls good-natured, helpful, fair-minded, trustworthy, and dignified. Cases of theft and perfidiousness are as rare among them as adultery. Their family life is pure, and in regard to their sexual morals, this investigator even says "that the Europeans in this respect are unfortunately below these cross-breeds" (p. 268).

The only fault he finds with them is an utter lack of energy and a steady will. Without the continual driving and urging on the part of the Europeans, the bastard is unable to move forward. This lack of energy and initiative frequently degenerates into dull inertness, which to some extent may be set down to the climate, for the Boer, too, is to a certain degree more phlegmatic than the Dutch. But in some activities, for instance in the pursuit of cattle thieves and on marches, the bastard is of indefatigable endurance. What he is deficient in, is merely the active energy of the Europeans. This very observation, however, seems to indicate that it is not race properly speaking to which this inertness may be set down, For if it were a racial defect, it would indiscriminately appear in every respect. But it rather seems to be a mere social habit, inherent in a certain stage of development. These very same habits of inertness are reported by the ancient historians as a characteristic feature in the mode of life of the Teutons.

It is, however, most interesting and quite typical to see how Fischer in open contradiction to the results of his own careful observations, yet concludes in the end that, without a single exception, all European nations which have undergone the infiltration of inferior blood have had to pay for this sin by an appreciable decline in their intellectual and cultural standard. "Spain, Portugal, the whole of Latin America are warning examples; and also certain developments in the Roman Empire, in the Sicily of the Middle Ages, the India of to-day, and in North Africa may here be cited."

Fischer believes these examples so convincing that he disclaims energetically the crossing of races and is quite against treating half-castes on the same footing as whites. This conclusion indubitably clashes with the results gained by his personal study of living populations. The "striking facts" which moved him to this surprising conclusion, however, are borrowed from scientific provinces in which he evidently is not at all at home. That Spain, for instance, has deteriorated through racial crossings cannot be upheld by those conversant with Spanish history. The Moors certainly mixed with the Iberian, Roman, and Gothic inhabitants of Spain during the eight centuries of their domination. Yet during this period it is certain that Spain was greatly superior, culturally, to the rest of Europe; and the same may be claimed in respect to Moorish Sicily. After the downfall of the Moorish régime Spain again played a great part for two centuries, as a world power and a cultural centre, in spite of all previous race mixing. Quite on the contrary, responsibility for the subsequent decay of Spain rests to a vast extent upon the fanatical racial pride displayed by the Christian Spaniards. Fischer's opinions respecting the causes of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire are but the reflex of such poor speculations as Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Foundations*.

In Brazil there lived several millions of Negro slaves, and cross-breeding began at a very early period because the Portuguese were less influenced by racial aversion than the Anglo-Saxons. Professor Dr. I. B. de Lacerda,<sup>10</sup> a physician and director of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, finds that the mulattoes in Brazil on the whole are physically weaker and possess less power of endurance than their parent races, but in intelligence they are very often far superior to both Negroes and whites. Economically they lack efficiency, for they are extravagant, vainglorious, impractical, fickle, fanciful, and not very trustworthy. But none will deny to them a high intelligence, a literary and scientific giftedness and a conspicuous capacity for politics. The Brazilian mulatto race has already produced men of uncommon talents: poets, writers, painters, sculptors, orators, administrators, musicians, lawyers, physicians, and engineers, unsurpassed in professional skill and efficiency." Also distinguished statesmen—though sometimes unscrupulous in the choice of their means—have arisen from their ranks. Since the introduction of the republican form of government the mulattoes have been given access to the highest public offices. In the Parliament, in the Courts of Law, in the Universities, in diplomacy and administration, the mulattoes now hold high



positions and have a great influence on the government. In consequence of this fact, the prejudice against cross-breeding has given way ; but the mulattoes themselves have a propensity to take only white women for their wives, so that the younger generations gradually become fairer in complexion. Lacerda believes that this sexual selection in the course of a few generations will have effected the elimination of the Negro and mulatto elements in Brazil, an opinion, however, little consistent with modern theories on heredity.

#### THE RACIAL COMPOUND OF THE JEWS

A most remarkable instance of a racial compound is the Jews. This people offers special interest to the anthropologist, because their historical development and geographical distribution may be, and has been traced, minutely throughout the whole course of history. The common notion is that the Jews are a homogeneous race, and without further ado they are identified with the "Semites" and the well-known nasal curve is considered a peculiarly Semitic trait. Felix von Luschan, however, has shown<sup>11</sup> that the one people generally accepted as the purest expression of the Semitic racial type, namely the Bedouins of the Arabian desert, are distinguished by small straight noses, thin lips, soft curly or wavy hair, and that the characteristic Jewish nose is due to a Hittite strain in the Jewish racial stock. It is known that the Hittites occupied a vast empire in Anterior Asia and their language was related to the Indogermanic. The Hittite nose is a common feature among the Armenians whose language also belonged to the Indogermanic family. Besides Semites and Hittites the Amorites, who probably were Aryans, formed a component part of the Jewish racial stock. The vulgar notion of the Indogermans and Semites being in radical contrast to one another is at any rate quite untenable. The close physical kinship of these two racial groups has, on the contrary, been established beyond dispute by anthropological research, and the more information we get on the prehistoric cultures of Western Asia, the more it becomes evident that numerous contacts and crossings must have taken place.

The Jews then, during the whole course of their history, always absorbed appreciable infiltrations of foreign blood, a fact which partly explains the variegations of types one meets among them, and also for their partial assimilation to the physical types of the nations they live among. Conversions to the Jewish religion of Greeks, Romans and other nationals occurred very frequently,

especially during the last two centuries B.C.; and in the Middle Ages and modern times, notwithstanding all obstacles, such conversions have happened occasionally, chiefly in the Slav countries, this being evidently the reason why the Polish and Russian Jews frequently bear unmistakable Slav facial characteristics.<sup>12</sup>

Fischberg, after an intense study of the racial features of the living generation of Jews, came to the conclusion that there exists no such thing as one homogeneous Jewish type, but that there is a multitude of Jewish types, according to the nations among whom the Jews live and to whom, to a higher or lesser degree, they have assimilated. The German Jews are much more like the other Germans than they are to their coreligionists in Palestine. The similarity appears in the head form, the proportions of the body, pigmentation, and facial traits. And even in Jerusalem, a census taken of the Jewish children there showed that among the Aschenazim there were 40 per cent blonds and 30 per cent blue-eyed, and among the Sephardim 10 per cent blonds and still less blue-eyed, only the decidedly blond or brunet tints having been taken into account.<sup>13</sup>

The census of school children in Germany, taken under the auspices of Virchow, revealed that among 75,000 Jewish children 32 per cent had light hair and 46 per cent light eyes. In Austria the proportion was 28 and 54 per cent respectively, in England 26 and 41 per cent, and so forth. The purely brunet type has been preserved only by about half of the European Jews, while about 10 per cent are pure blonds (fair complexion, light eyes and hair), the rest being of mixed racial features. As to noses, Fischberg, after examining 4,120 individuals, found out that but a small minority of Jews are blessed with olfactory organs of a crooked form, but it is just this small number of crooked noses which strike the eye, and not the large number of straight ones. A straight ("Greek") nose was found in 57 per cent of the males and 59 per cent of the females. Crooked noses were noted in 14 per cent and 13 per cent respectively. From this we may learn how unreliable popular ideas respecting racial types are. The fact is, that many of the traits commonly believed to be Jewish characteristics are in reality of the most diverse derivations.

These traits, moreover, are by no means restricted to the Jews, but are met with in a great many other peoples, a fact which has given rise to the manifold speculations respecting the whereabouts of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. Peculiarly striking is the occurrence of Jewish types among the higher classes in Japan,

even among the Imperial Family. One of the finest ladies of Tokio would be regarded in Europe as of Jewish blood (Ranke). The present King of Spain strongly reminds one of certain caricatures of Jews in our comic papers ; in surveying the ancestral portraits of the House of Hapsburg one finds Jewish traits in a surprising multitude. A prominent German anti-Semite, Theodor Fritsch, detected Jewish types even among the Hohenzollern family. Like similarities seem patent in pictorial representations of the Incas of Peru, in some princely families of Java, in many German and French aristocratic families of the oldest standing, in Dutch patrician families, and furthermore, among many primitive races such as the Bakairis of South America, the Kaffirs of South Africa, the Papuans, some Polynesian and Micronesian and North American Red Indian tribes, etc. Stratz, from whom some of these statements are taken,<sup>14</sup> therefore declares that Jewish appearance is the effect of protracted inbreeding, as indeed practised in ruling dynasties, castes, and aristocratic families, and also in areas of local isolation (e.g. small islands, forests, the Ghetto). It was the absence of crossings which, according to this author, developed in the Jews the characteristics of the white race to an extreme degree.

The fact that we nearly always can tell a Jew at a glance from other people seems very often due not so much to physical as to psychical and social characteristics, such as name, bearing, manner of speech, ocular expression, etc. That the outward appearance is influenced also by the mode of life becomes visible from the following instance given by Luschan : In the isle of Rhodes the Jews have monopolized for some 400 years the profession of porters, so that on Saturdays no ship can unload her cargo. The result has been that the Jews of Rhodes to-day count among the tallest people, their average stature being, he says, nearly as tall as that of the Scotch, and surpassing that of the Swedes. He sees in this an effect of unconscious selection.

The Jews, unquestionably, are the product of manifold crossings. The enormous share they took, and still take, in the intellectual and moral development of the world is therefore a strong proof against the alleged noxiousness of racial crossings.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup> M. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte*, i, p. 122; T. Ribot, *L'Hérédité psychologique*, 1914, p. 344; Alfred Fouillée, *Temperament et caractère selon les individus, les sexes et les races*, 1901, p. 339; McDougall, *The Group Mind*, 1921, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Schnapper-Arndt, *Sozialstatistik*, 1908, p. 484. To Boeckh's arguments I should like to add that Jewish-Christian crossings are mostly to be found among the well-to-do and cultured classes, who for reasons of comfort have fewer children than the proletariat. A comparison therefore is not in place.

<sup>3</sup> Mjöen, "Harmonische und unharmonische Kreuzungen," *ZE.*, 1921-2, p. 470. Cf. also the views of different authors quoted by Gregory, p. 225 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Ratzel, *Anthropogeography*, i; F. von Luschan's *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, pp. 26, 59, is especially to be recommended. Among other things this writer remarks "that horses and asses are far more distantly related than human groups, yet their crossing, the mule, has excellent qualities; for many tasks mules are far more valuable than horses or asses".

<sup>5</sup> E. Brückner, *Geschichte der russischen Literatur*, 1909, pp. 194 seq. Another well-known Russian poet, Bunin-Zukovsky, was of Oriental descent, *ibid.*, p. 194. Pushkin had a decided Negro type inherited from his mother, but had blue eyes. F. Haumant, *Pouchkine*, 1911, pp. 14 seq.

<sup>6</sup> G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, 10th edition, pp. 957, 1052.

<sup>7</sup> G. Brandes, "Die romantische Schule in Frankreich" (*Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, vol. v), 1883, p. 392.

<sup>8</sup> Eugen Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem der Menschen*, 1913.

<sup>9</sup> This Fischer calls "Luxurieren". Boas says the same thing of crossings between Indians and Whites, and Mjöen of that between Lapps and Norwegians.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Inter-Racial Problems*, edited by G. Spiller, 1911, pp. 377 seq.

<sup>11</sup> Luschan, *Völker, Rassen und Sprachen*, pp. 112, 165 seq. The writer says that the supposed Jewish type is a common Oriental one, and is often found among Aryan-speaking peoples.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Dr. Maurice Fischberg, "Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden" (*The Racial Characteristics of the Jews*), 1913, with 42 plates; *ibid.*, "On Race Mixtures," pp. 239-55; further, J. Renan, *Le Judaïsme comme race et religion*, 1883.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. Schiff, "Anthropologische Untersuchungen an jüdischen Kindern in Jerusalem," *AA.*, 1914, p. 348. The Aschkenazim mainly come from Germany, Poland, etc., where blondness is very widespread.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Stratz, *Was sind Juden? Eine ethnographisch-anthropologische Studie*, 1903.

## CHAPTER VII

### RACE MINGLING AND DECAY OF NATIONS

#### THE FALL OF ROME

THE cause of the decline and fall of ancient Rome, according to Gobineau, Chamberlain, and their school, was the physical and moral degeneracy of the Roman people occasioned through incongruous race mixture. The protracted infiltration of the blood of slaves and freedmen, mostly of Semitic and African extraction, unnerved the Roman people and transformed it into an amorphous mass of mestizoes without any definite character whatever. "Like a cataract the alien blood poured down into the nearly depopulated city of Rome, and soon the Romans had ceased to exist." In such style Chamberlain's pen goes on revelling in describing the abjectness of the "raceless chaos", as he calls this historical period. Ignorant, superstitious, characterless, dastardly, it was, this raceless chaos, and it has not yet ceased to operate mischief in its effects, for its offspring is the adulterated Christianity of the Catholic church and all the other forms of universalist spirit, mainly capitalism and its antagonist, socialism. "Even to-day," he says, "the whole of our intellectual and spiritual development stands under the curse of this fatal hybridism, it is this which still in the nineteenth century places the weapons in the hands of all anti-national, race-destroying elements." From this viewpoint the invasion of the Roman empire by the Teutons naturally must be considered as a deed of salvation, and whosoever dares to question this is told by Chamberlain in his own mild way "that only pitiable lack of brain-power or shameless misrepresentation of historical facts can see in the advent of the Teutons anything but the saving of agonizing humanity from the clutches of the eternal bestial". The Teutons first brought into the world the idea of liberty, it was they who rescued Christianity, and indeed the culture of the whole world.

This assumption is one of the mainstays of every race theory. W. D. Babington, in a learned and clever study, showed it to have been one of the earliest and most widespread of all race hypotheses, and attests that the view of the degeneration of the Roman people

and the regenerative influence of the Teutonic blood was a general notion in his time (1886).<sup>1</sup> Explanations for this degeneration of the Roman people have been sought for in different quarters, e.g. in the alleged natural growing senility and decaying of nations, or in the systematic extermination of the best stocks (Seeck) or even in climatic changes. Stress was first laid on racial deterioration, as far as we know, by Count Gobineau, though previous to him this subject had been touched upon by some writers as one of the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire, for instance, by Gibbon.

Surely there can be no doubt that racial crossings of the most manifold kind occurred at the beginning as well as at the end of the historical evolution of the ancient nations. According to the Roman legend Romulus and Remus gathered around them a host of runaway slaves and loafers and founded with them the town of Rome, which they opened as an asylum even to malefactors. Few of these first founders of Rome knew the names of their own fathers.<sup>2</sup> But not only does tradition tell us that the Romans from their very beginnings were of a mixed origin. For a long time inter-marriages between patricians and plebians were interdicted, and of course also between citizens and aliens. Later on, however, the Romans were much more liberal than the Greeks in bestowing citizenship upon vanquished peoples, and Plutarch sees in this the chief reason for their rapid expansion. Why then did not the initial crossings with the non-Aryan Ligurians and Etruscans prevent the rise of Rome? The assertion that in later times racial crossing engendered degeneracy and corruption is indeed quite untenable. To-day the races of the whole universe gather in London and New York, where there are even Chinese quarters. Will future historians be warranted in ascribing to race mixture the moral depravity in these cities, for which illustrative quotations from contemporary authors will not be difficult to find? True, as an effect of the Punic, Greek, and Asiatic wars there came to Italy great multitudes of outlandish slaves such as were best suited for field-labour; but a considerable number of the Roman slaves (Fustel de Coulanges puts it at one half<sup>3</sup>) were at all times Italic, besides the great numbers of Greek, Celt, and in later times Teutonic slaves, all Aryans and many of them Nordics.<sup>4</sup> One must not imagine, however, that much chance was given to the field slaves to influence to any appreciable degree the racial composition of the Romans. According to Roman law slaves could not contract marriages, a principle which was strictly adhered to, especially in regard to rural slaves.<sup>5</sup> They were treated with the



utmost inhumanity so that Mommsen could say of them: "As compared to Roman slavery the sum of all Negro sufferings was but a drop." <sup>6</sup> In the best possible case they were allowed to live in promiscuity. But then it was the experience of all slave holding epochs, corroborated also through the newest and best known facts of social economy in America, that slaves were unable to propagate, wherefore their number had always to be filled up by new imports. The reason for this lies in the circumstance that the number of female slaves, whose labour value is naturally inferior, was but small, and secondly, in the well-known fact that promiscuity makes sterility; and finally also in the inhuman treatment of slaves. <sup>7</sup> Far different was the situation of the industrial and intellectual slaves in the large cities where a gracious lord could allow them to marry, of course only a person of their own condition, for according to a *Senatus Consultum Claudianum* a free woman who had intercourse with a slave fell into slavery. <sup>8</sup> Even a freedman could not marry without the consent of his lord; and for the matrimonial alliance between a freedman and a free Roman woman the consent of the Senate as well as of the people was required (Livy, xxxix, 19). As a matter of fact Roman citizenship was the precondition for a regular marriage; the offspring of a Roman citizen with a woman of non-Roman citizenship was considered as illegitimate. These legal provisions prove in themselves that the Romans were averse to crossings, this arising out of caste prejudice, <sup>9</sup> and when in a later period these prejudices had slackened down a law of the Emperor Valentinian prohibited intermarriages on pain of death between Romans and barbarians. <sup>10</sup> From other sources also we learn that the civilized Romans, in common with most other cultured nations, nourished a haughty aversion against union with culturally lower races, and that this aversion extended even to such peoples as in other cultural spheres occupied a high rank. The Emperor Augustus considered it a principle of the utmost importance that the Roman people "must be preserved, pure and untainted of the admixture of alien and slave blood". He therefore very rarely conferred the right of citizenship (Suetonius, *Augustus*, cap. 40). The offspring of unions between Romans and aliens were styled "hybridæ", a term otherwise only used in speaking of cross-breeds between animals of different species, e.g. horses and donkeys. <sup>11</sup> Virgil (*Æneid*, viii, 688) reproaches Mark Antony for having married an Egyptian and calls this a crime ("nefas"), though Cleopatra was the offspring of one of the most noble royal families of her time. Horace (*Odes*, iii, 5) speaks of a soldier who by having

married a barbarian woman covered himself with ignominy. Even the Emperor Titus when ascending the throne was forced by public opinion to divorce his Jewish queen Berenice, although, as Suetonius remarks, he did this but very reluctantly. And still at a very late epoch of the Byzantine Empire, when "chaos" was in full swing, one of the emperors strongly emphasized the old unbroken Roman custom of abstaining from intermixture with aliens.<sup>12</sup>

It does not seem, therefore, that racial promiscuity went on at such a rapid rate and to such an extent as Chamberlain asserts. The aristocrats especially were held in check by law, traditions, and prejudices. The effective power in the Roman Republic lay in the hands of a few noble families distinguished by extraordinary pride and disdain for all those who were of lower birth. Fustel de Coulanges (pp. 263, 279) gives illustrative quotations for his assertion that each separate aristocratic class in Rome regarded with contempt even those who were but one degree lower than themselves. The possibility of rising from a lower to a higher class of nobility was restricted through artificial impediments and could be effected only to the extent of one degree in every generation, without the possibility of skipping over a degree. The people respected this social order, and a "homo novus", an upstart without aristocratic ancestry, seldom contrived to obtain the commoners' votes for an office. But the emperors also were for a long time powerless to make up to their favourites the lack of noble birth. Ill-assorted matches were likewise made difficult by custom and law, and infringements against this observance were especially made difficult for the higher officials in the provinces. A man of senatorial rank was indeed never allowed, from the times of Cæsar, to be domiciled abroad except on public mission. All public functionaries in the provinces, however, were strictly forbidden, for administrative as well as for social reasons, to contract marriages with persons of the same province, either for themselves or for their sons while minors. Marriage promises were held as not binding even when made between relatives of the official in office. And custom in matters of social prejudice we venture to say will have been even stricter than law. With due consideration for all these facts it seems highly improbable that the noble families of Rome threw away their racial pride in favour of African and Syrian slaves.

Marriages with noble Greeks and Gauls, however, can hardly have been followed by the dire consequences depicted by Chamberlain. Even in the latest times of the Empire, on the territories of

the new barbarian states, senatorial descent was held as an almost awe-inspiring prestige both by Romans and Teutons.<sup>13</sup>

During the imperial epoch of Rome the art of the portrait bust attained its highest expression, and painted portraits of Roman personages have come down to us, but even Chamberlain's unerring instinct will find it hard to trace in them any radical change of the Roman racial type. Not only the physical type of the Romans, but their psychological features also do not seem to have undergone any greater change except that which is conditioned by the natural development of society to a higher standard of civilization with all its advantages and drawbacks. Luxury and vice, it is true, more and more gained ground in this development, and foreign examples were in many respects of corrupting effect. But does this presuppose race mixture? Does the spread of tobacco smoking in Europe, or of whisky drinking in Africa, prove an admixture of red-skin blood in Europeans, or of white blood in the Negroes? As early as the third and second century B.C., when nobody, not even Chamberlain, can trace racial adulteration in the Roman people, at a time truly to be called the heroic age of Rome, we find reports of horrid corruptions ruling in aristocratic circles.<sup>14</sup>

The corruption of the later epochs of the Roman empire, moreover, must not be exaggerated in favour of the former. Even Gobineau, curious to say, admitted that in respect to energy and morals the imperial epoch was greater than the republican epoch. The general conception that imperial Rome was of an unparalleled moral depravity rests on a too literal acceptance of the fury of invectives hurled by the ascetic Fathers of the Church in their denunciations of paganism. Roman history has shown that this belief was founded on false premises. W. D. Babington, for instance, has demonstrated forcibly that the much exaggerated moral degeneracy of Rome could by no means have brought about her fall.

The only instance Chamberlain adduces in detail as a "proof" of the degeneracy of the ancient classical spirit is a character sketch by the Greek-Syrian writer Lucian, whom he delineates as a witty, vainglorious, characterless, *bel esprit*, "not without generous impulses (p. 303), but lacking in high ideals, profound conviction and thorough insight." This sketch is a climax of the Chamberlain method. Why did Chamberlain choose precisely Lucian as the representative man of an epoch of five centuries? <sup>15</sup> Surely the Roman Empire in its later days produced men of loftier intellect than Lucian, for instance, Marcus Aurelius, Julian, Plotinus, Boethius, Augustinus, Ambrosius and all the great Fathers. More



to the point is Schiller's criticism<sup>16</sup>; "One could not find more beautiful and striking pictures of to-day's Paris and indeed of all our great cities than Lucian unwittingly made of them in describing Rome. *C'est tout comme chez nous !*" Schiller also praises him for his "glorious truthfulness" and "Socratic simplicity".

As an illustration of the thoroughness and impartiality of Chamberlain's method may also be mentioned his offhand manner of handling the Roman emperors as "mongrels", thereby setting aside the fact that just the very worst of them, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Domitian among others, may be considered without doubt of absolutely pure Roman blood. Nero, we learn from Suetonius, was blond and blue-eyed. All of them were either by blood or by adoption related to the august Julian house, whose founder was great Cæsar himself. Can one believe that this proudest of all noble Roman families, which traced its descent back to Æneas, would have mixed their blood with that of African slaves? Chamberlain's sympathetic mildness goes so far as to style Tiberius "an eminent and liberal minded man" because he was not favourably inclined towards the Jews (p. 342). One must marvel then why he omitted to deduce from Julius Cæsar's notorious propensity for the Jews that he was a product of the "chaos". The fact that one speaks of a "Spanish" or a "Syrian" dynasty is sufficient for Chamberlain to maintain that all those Cæsars were a mongrel breed of the lowest races. As a point of fact most of them were offsprings of provincial noble families of the best Roman stock, who very often possessed far greater capability than the Romans born in Rome. If there occurred any crosses, it was certainly not with the dregs of the subdued population, but with families of the highest already Romanized classes, such as indeed were not inferior to the Romans themselves. Making allowance for the small number of insane or inefficient emperors, it may be said that just the provincial Romans contributed most to the long duration of Roman rule. While the nobles living in Rome wasted their energies in material and intellectual luxury, a stronger generation had grown up in the provinces under the stress of hard administrative work, in constant struggle with uncivilized nomads or mountain tribes, or under the fertilizing touch of foreign cultures. With the first "foreigner" on the throne of the Cæsars, namely with Trajan, there really began the time which Gibbon believes was the happiest for humanity throughout the history of the world. Trajan, Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius,<sup>17</sup> four of the best emperors that ever ruled in Rome, succeeded each other. The Roman arms were

crowned by victory, and the Empire enjoyed a century's undisturbed development during which the arts and literature attained a zenith of unrivalled perfection. Can this have been brought about by outlandish "mestizoes"? Does not this root up the very foundations of race theory? Of course, what has just been maintained, respecting the Roman provincial families, holds good for the descent of these emperors. Marcus Ulpius Trajanus came from a Spanish family of "uncontested Italic derivation". His successor Hadrian, was a scion of the Spanish branch of the house of the Ælii to whom Rome owed a number of her greatest men. His family had emigrated to Spain at the time of Scipio. Antoninus Pius belonged to a noble Roman family settled in Gaul, his grandfather was Consul and Prefect of the police in Rome, and so forth. For Chamberlain all this is insignificant. Without taking heed of historical facts he goes rambling on, just as it suits his humour. He expressly means these emperors when, without mincing the matter, he says: "Not one of them probably was distantly related to those men who with sure intuitive instinct created the Roman commonwealth." The Romans, according to Chamberlain, were "for all times" barred from imperial dignity!

True, in later times it occurred more and more frequently that lansquenets leaders of low provincial extraction by dint of their prowess and through the favour of the legions rose to the imperial throne, but to these princes also—non-Romans undoubtedly—Rome was indebted for much advancement. These rough soldiers—superstitious and ignorant of culture, but energetic and not unfrequently moved by a professionally limited sense of duty—were possessed of just such qualities as those perilous times demanded. Such men as Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Constantine and many others, did more for the defence of the Empire than any preceding "true" Roman, though their low birth, which in many cases was left intentionally in the dark, makes their race very doubtful. It is probable that the blood of Roman soldiers and colonists also flowed in their veins. Chamberlain cannot quite ignore the rescuing activity of these men. A figure like Diocletian, who by a new administrative organization gave the Empire for centuries a new stay, was too powerful to be set aside as a "mongrel" even by Chamberlain. Therefore he decrees (p. 307) "the great Diocletian was the last emperor of pure blood". Theodosius and all the rest were mongrels. Diocletian, however, was in reality an Illyrian freedman of lowest derivation. Chamberlain himself calls him an "Illyrian shepherd" (p. 151). Thus Chamberlain

contradicts himself in here maintaining just the opposite of what he said a moment ago. Of course, he ignores the fact that Theodosius proceeded from a noble Spanish family of Italic origin. Indeed, such trifles never hinder Chamberlain from apodictically advancing assertions which he invents freely to serve his purposes.

What the race theorists have in common is the assertion that racial degeneration is to bear blame for the fall of ancient civilizations. But how was this brought about? Seeck<sup>18</sup> believes that the extermination of the best individuals was caused by party strife, civil wars, persecution of Christians, celibacy, etc., but rejects the Gobineau-Chamberlain theory of the noxiousness of race mixture, unless it be just the undesirable elements of a race which form the crossing. He even inclines to see an advantage in the crossing of races. Only the wholesale extinction of the noblest and best, he believes, was conducive to a general debasement of the racial level. Another race theorist, Reibmayer,<sup>19</sup> ably controverts Seeck's opinion and even believes protracted inbreeding (i.e. the lack of crossings) to have been the cause of the degeneration, cultural progress being, he considers, conditioned by the regular alternation of crossing and inbreeding. In the progressive intermixture of the races of the earth he sees a security for further development. These three theories evidently are in clashing contradiction to one another, and yet Chamberlain advises the study of Reibmayer's excellent work "as the indispensable complement of his own ideas".<sup>20</sup>

The prominent historian of ancient Greece and Rome, Professor Julius Beloch, in his books very often shows a marked aversion to all race mixture and sometimes entangles himself in very curious contradictions concerning these questions (cf. Kromayer, *Hist. Zschr.*, vol. c, 1908, against Beloch). Yet Beloch in a remarkable article on the "Decay of Antique Culture" (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, vol. lxxxiv, 1900) absolutely avoids all explanation of this decay by racial arguments. He says that the "extermination of the best elements", asserted by Seeck, never has taken place and that there is not the faintest proof of a degeneration.

The decline of Greece in the beginning was purely political, and it was Roman tyranny which brought about cultural decay.

#### SOCIAL REASONS FOR THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ROME

The tillers of the rich fertile plains, such as in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China, at all times were a peace-loving element, because to them and their children nature offered abundant food. Also,



in most cases, they were unable, in the open, defenceless plain, to preserve their liberty, so that they either fell under the rule of barons or a priestly bureaucratic monarchy. Far different were the conditions in mountainous or wooded countries, in Assyria, Judæa, Macedonia, Rome, Switzerland.<sup>21</sup> There, stout, self-conscious peasant tribes could stand their ground and easily defend their liberty, but they were forced to conquer new colonial land for their children, because the poor soil of their country was not sufficient for them all. On these grounds the expansive world empires of Assyria, Macedonia, and Rome came into existence. The Swiss and the Jews too, migrated through many countries, as soldiers first and then as traders. In this process of expansion the vigorous peasantry as a rule were urged onwards by a warlike aristocracy under the leadership of a national king, the power between these factors being evenly balanced. This comparative balance of power between king, aristocracy, and peasants, when maintained justly, prevents degeneration into royal despotism, such as is found in most parts of the ancient Orient, or into a feudal or democratic anarchy such as ruled in Hellas, and in the later Teutonic states. This equilibrium, therefore, is one of the essential prerequisites for any lasting military and political expansion of power. The old empires nearly all perished through the fact that the peasantry, exhausted by the endless wars, let all power lapse into the hands of a despot or an aristocratic caste, which instead of the national armies employed mercenaries whose profligacy in the end led the empire to perdition.

In Rome the greatest display of power coincided with the social rise of the peasants (Mommson, p. 445). After each victory peasant settlers were sent out to form colonies and the veteran soldier took to the plough. In this way Rome set to the world the most impressive example of enormous political and economic energy slumbering in free labour.<sup>22</sup> And still more impressive is the example of Rome's fall. In the old Roman commonwealth there never existed such harsh contrasts between the several social classes as in Hellas. There was, it is true, a patrician caste in Rome, but its members were themselves little better than hard working peasant proprietors whose highest aim was to preserve their land, who held in disdain such frivolities as knightly sports, the theatre, art, and science. Then, by degrees, an economic system based on slave labour crept in, the hereditary land-holders themselves set the plough aside, and made war prisoners do the work for them. Hence in place of workers they became lords. In the course of time their arrogance

and inefficiency became a serious danger for Rome. The small peasant proprietors grew poor and were forced to sell their holdings, they thus were replaced by latifundia and their slaves—a sort of usurious capitalism based on the exploitation of the provincials, slaves, and peasants developed. Rome still continued to proceed on her way of conquest, with no purposeful aim for universal rule; by the sheer necessity of securing the already achieved conquests she was pushed farther and farther abroad until finally a large part of the then known universe fell to her possession as a heritage of the whole preceding trend of events. Social incongruities and the utter impossibility of governing a universal empire on the principles and in the forms of the old municipal administration which as yet was ignorant of any sort of a representative constitution, the inner conflicts arising from such a state of things drove with natural force towards the monarchy, which then indeed secured peace, a certain degree of prosperity, and in general the existence of Rome for some centuries to come. But slavery formed the feet of clay of this colossus. It prevented the formation of a free industrial middle class and the regeneration of the land-holding peasantry, who through the wars of the Republic had dwindled rapidly, and in general slavery had a demoralizing effect. The mercenary stepped into the place of the free citizen soldier; law and order were superseded by prætorian rule. Slavery also, through its cheap and rough labour, prevented all technical progress<sup>23</sup>; the formation of industrial capital and the development of the tax-paying capacity were hampered. In this situation the Roman Empire was incessantly beset by innumerable wild barbarian hordes which at any moment threatened to flood over the frontiers and could only be opposed by the tactical skill of the legions, and not by the superiority of repeating rifles. The legions also had for a long time been composed of barbarian mercenaries, very often even more dangerous enemies than their brethren on the other side of the frontier. In the interior there fermented the powerful social and moral forces of growing Christianity which in regard to the State was indifferent or even hostile in its attitude, so that just the best of the emperors believed it their duty to drown the unpatriotic, dangerous doctrine in blood. Thus the struggle raged on in the interior as well as around the frontiers of the Roman Empire. To this must be added the circumstance that the level of technical progress at that time was not such as to assure for any length of time the integrity of a world empire. This has been made possible by modern develop-

ment only, with its world-wide economic interconnexions, its railways, telegraph, standing armies, cannons, and navies, with its principles of decentralization, national economy, and statistics. In the old times, as already said, the economic system of slavery prevented every technical, moral and political progress : development had come to a deadlock, from which an issue was only possible by a retrograde movement, a new epoch of barbarism.

The social development of the old world in its last phase immobilized all professions and led to a general enslavement and brutalization. The State seemed indeed to exist merely for the exclusive benefit of the big landowners, the high officials, and the soldiery. In the third and fourth centuries, in Gaul particularly, there raged uninterrupted upheavals of despondent rural labourers. In the fifth century whole troops of Romans went over to the barbarians and Salvian, a patristic writer, states that he marvelled all poor people did not do the same.<sup>24</sup>

Despite all this, Rome continued to live not only in the Roman church, but also in the Byzantine Empire. The fall of the Western Empire did not touch the Empire of the East, whose rulers went on calling themselves "Emperors of the Romans"; under their powerful protection the classical tradition lived on, and the foundations of modern political administration were laid. Though Byzantine life seems to us sad and gloomy, full of all sorts of horrors and abominations, we yet do not forget the enormous struggles this Empire had to face from the first to the last minutes of its existence. The waves of the great migration of peoples, of the Crusades, of Islam, all broke against the rocky shore of Byzantium. What this Empire achieved in a thousand years' strife against Teutons, Huns, Slavs, Bulgars, Avars, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Normans, French, Spaniards, Venetians and other enemies, equals the heroic deeds of ancient Rome. And though foreign hireling troops fought her battles, yet the spirit pervading her and directing the arms of her foreign mercenaries was that of ancient Rome.

#### THE DECAY OF GREECE

For the decay of Greece also, race mixing is frequently made responsible; and yet it is well known that just the initial period of Greek history was decisively influenced by Asiatic races and cultures. The cradle of Hellenic culture was Ionia, the very region where Hellenic and Asiatic elements came into closest touch; and



the other colony, Sicily, came very near it. The grandeur of the Hellenic culture has all its roots in the Ionian spirit. Of Thales, the initiator of Greek philosophy, we know that he was of Semitic stock and that he derived his knowledge from Egypt as is admitted even by Diogenes Laertius who dislikes accepting non-Hellenic influences.<sup>25</sup> From the Semites the Greeks borrowed their alphabet and many other elements of culture, especially music, as evidenced by the names of their musical instruments. Wirth explains the name "Homeros" from the Semitic "zammeru" = "singer".<sup>26</sup> Of Theseus, Plutarch says (*Theseus*, 24) that for the foundation of Athens he said: "Come hither, all ye nations!" Herodotus (i, 56-7) attributes to the Athenians non-Hellenic descent and lays stress upon the fact that some of the most distinguished Athenian families were of foreign origin (v, 65-6). The florescence of Athens depended on the international, hospitable character of the city. As contrasted to this, aristocratic Sparta proudly secluded herself from all contact with the world abroad. Foreigners even were not allowed to reside in Sparta, although in later times this law could not be strictly observed. According to Herodotus (ix, 33-5) the Spartans never bestowed citizenship upon any foreigner, except to two brothers to whom it was reluctantly granted in consideration of special services.<sup>27</sup> Marriages, however, could not be contracted by persons who had not the rights of citizenship. Even between citizens of the several Hellenic towns marriages were impossible, except by virtue of the rarely granted right of epigamy, and this practically never occurred between Hellenes and barbarians. Sparta therefore was of a much purer Hellenic stock than Athens, and yet it remained culturally sterile, while strongly mixed Athens became the sun of Hellenic culture. The strictest ban on race mixing, which even in later times slackened very little,<sup>28</sup> could not save Sparta from falling, first among all Greek commonwealths, into utter moral and political degeneracy and depopulation.

But even in Athens, where foreigners were well received, race mixture was by no means favoured in later times. It is remarkable that just in the beginning of her history Athens was easy in bestowing rights of citizenship upon alien residents, and that even children of illegitimate birth from relations between citizens and aliens were entered on the registers of citizenship. Kleisthenes even went so far as to cause a mass reception of alien residents and freedmen. And just the succeeding generations were the protagonists of the heroic age of Athens; from this mixture proceeded the men of Marathon and Salamis whose sons and grandsons created the

Athens of Pericles ! If such were the results of cross-breeding how ardently do we desire them for ourselves ! Things changed in after-days. In proportion as, in the course of democratic development, the political prerogatives, and for the poor classes the material advantages inherent in citizenship also, became greater, the citizens began to restrict the admission of foreigners more and more.<sup>29</sup> Racial pride grew with the florescence of Athens to extraordinary proportions. As early as the fifth century citizenship was only granted in consideration of extraordinary merit, on the ground of a plebiscitum, which, however, could be juridically opposed by any Athenian on the plea of unworthiness of the enfranchized. If the jury found the protest justified, the person concerned fell into slavery. In the fourth century, the proceeding grew still more rigorous : a preliminary plebiscitum was required ; then a second meeting of at least 6,000 citizens decided on granting the enfranchisement, and even this decision was liable to appeal. From the beginning of the third century onward citizenship was granted in a more liberal spirit, but juridical revision was made obligatory for all cases. The political decay of Athens, at that time, however, was already nearing its finality, nothing could hold back the tide. In vain frequent revisions of the registers of citizenship were made, whereby those found in default had to pay for this by being enslaved. When, under Pericles, frumentations were to be distributed, 5,000 among 19,000 citizens were expelled for unrighteous acquisition of citizenship and were sold as slaves. Many of them were innocent.<sup>30</sup> Henceforward every alien resident married to an Athenian woman was in the danger of losing his property and of being sold as a slave ; and if an Athenian was married to an alien woman, she was threatened by the same fate and he was subject to a fine of 1,000 drachmas.<sup>31</sup> Aristotle informs us that in Athens only such persons could be citizens as could prove both their parents to have been citizens ; and in many other cities this proof was extended to the great-grandparents, and still farther back.<sup>32</sup> Therefore we can take it only as one of the usual exaggerations of the panegyrist Isokrates when he asserts<sup>33</sup> that all the citizens of long standing had been exterminated through the long wars. It is true that during the Peloponnesian War aliens were enfranchized to fill up the gaps among the citizens, to the great indignation of the orators, but soon the old rigour was reverted to. In any case it was only the question of admitting other Hellenes, not barbarians. When Philip V of Macedonia demanded that in the city of Larissa the metics of Hellenic race should be admitted to citizenship, the Larissans

only very reluctantly acceded to this wish.<sup>34</sup> Athenian citizenship became more easy of access only after Alexander's death. Yet at all times the contempt of the Hellenes for the barbarians remained the same, and even the Macedonians were considered as barbarians.<sup>35</sup> Till the time when Rome was already in the plenitude of her power, the Romans were only barbarians in the eyes of the Hellenes; nay, more, when Greece had for a long time been a Roman province, some of the Greeks, as is evidenced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, still called the Romans not barbarians, but the worst of barbarians.<sup>36</sup> And despite all this we are to believe that the Hellenes without further ado mixed with Syrian and African slaves? The number of Asiatic and African slaves in Greece, by the way, was never as large as in Rome, because the Greeks derived their slaves mostly from the neighbouring tribes of the Thracians, Scythians, etc., who were all Nordics and spoke Indogermanic languages.

Chamberlain explains the racial deterioration of the Greeks by the invasion of foreign, unrelated tribes (p. 266). The epoch of these invasions, however, forbids any such explanation quite apart from the fact that the invaders were predominantly Aryans and even Nordics, with whom the crossings should be considered, according to the race theory, as a wholesome refreshment of the blood.<sup>37</sup> The Celts after their defeat (280 B.C.) did not settle at all in Hellas but migrated onwards. More than five centuries had elapsed after the complete downfall of Greece before the first Teutons settled there. In the sixth century A.D. the Bulgarian assaults began, but only in the eighth century did these tribes, who in the meantime had adopted Slavonic speech, get a firm footing in Hellas proper, where at first they lived in separate communities without mixing with the Hellenes. Only in the ninth century, when under the Byzantine emperor Basilius I (867-86) they had accepted the Christian faith, amalgamation with the Greeks became possible, and in fact took place on a large scale. And strange to say, this first great race-mixing which a thousand years after the definite decline of Greece brought a Finnic-Turk-Slav strain into the Hellenic blood, seems to have had the most favourable results. From this time onward Greece revives again, prosperity and civilization increase, the whole Empire sees a new epoch of florescence. In the twelfth century Greece was one of the most progressive parts of the Empire, and might have brought forth a Renaissance like that of Italy but for the Latin Crusaders who like a destroying avalanche swept over Byzantium.<sup>38</sup> The Franks introduced into Greece the feudal system which manifested its decomposing effects



by unending bloody feuds. The intolerance of the Catholic Franks who tried to force their own customs, language, and religion upon reluctant populations, marks this most lamentable period of Greek history. Only then was the Roman Empire ripe for downfall and it succumbed under the assaults of the Turks, after having previously placed in the hands of the then rising Italian culture the conscientiously preserved treasures of the classic age.

The allegation that classic culture perished through racial deterioration contrasts clashingly with historic truths. It is a phrase that is widely spread on account of its easy currency, but utterly meaningless in the light of historical criticism. The vicissitudes of the classical world, on the contrary, are with absolute certainty to be traced to social processes, economic disarrangements more particularly, and to their effects on the military constitution.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

An interesting application of the Race Theory is the conception of the French Revolution as a struggle between the ruling Teutonic and the subdued Celtic races. Here we find one of the oldest sources of this line of thought, which also throws some light on its psychology. Race theory thereby discloses itself in a striking measure as a weapon in the struggle of classes. Dr. Ludwig Woltmann,<sup>40</sup> on the contrary, maintains that the leading revolutionary personages were of Teutonic race, as appeared to him from the study of their portraits. By some historians, however, it has been contested that the number of the Frank immigrants was very large,<sup>41</sup> while on the other hand the French nobility had suffered the heaviest bleedings on the battle-fields.<sup>42</sup> As a matter of fact it is notorious that a very large portion of the French aristocracy at the time of the revolution was not of very old standing, and also that they had acquired their patents by not quite commendable means. Patents of nobility were often bought because of the exemption from taxation they conferred.<sup>43</sup> This has been laid bare most characteristically by Count Volney. In his famous book *The Ruins*, written in part before the Revolution, but published only afterwards, we find the following passage: "Some others (noblemen) said: 'It would be shameful and vile to mix with the populace whose task it is to serve us; we are of the noble and pure race of the conquerors of this country. Let us recall to the minds of the masses our rights and our origin.' Thereupon they addressed the people: 'People, hast thou forgotten that our forefathers conquered the country and

that thy race has been spared under the express condition to serve us ? ' and so forth. The people : ' Pure race of the conquerors, show us thy pedigrees that we may see whether such deeds as are considered thefts and frauds when committed by single persons become virtues when made by a whole nation.' And in the same moment loud voices from out of the crowd began to call out many noble names, denounced their descent and relationship and told how their grandfather, or great-grandfather, or even their father, after having in some way or other acquired riches, had bought for money their nobility, so that only a small number of families was left who really were of old descent. ' Look here,' said those voices, ' look at these upstarts who deny their own parents, these plebeian recruits who think themselves glorious veterans ! ' And a mocking laugh arose all around." This witty peer of France, we dare say, must have known the composition of his own social sphere. This whole hypothesis after all breaks down under the striking obviousness of the social causes of the French Revolution. And by the way, how can it be explained that just the Celtic districts of France (Brittany and Vendée) stood up to the last drop of their blood for aristocratic rule against the alleged Celtic revolution ?

#### RACE MIXTURE AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The allegation of the race theorists that crosses of different races lead to degeneracy is worthless for the mere reason that none of them sticks to a clear definition of what he really means by a " different " race. We are never told whether perchance only black and white are to be considered as " diverging " races, or also white " Aryans " and white " Semites " : or whether among the Aryans the teutons are to be singled out as contrasted against the Slavs, or even whether also the Teutonic races, viz. the English, Germans, etc., are to be considered as racially different ? What is less precarious, a cross of German speaking round-heads with French or Slav speaking round-heads, or a cross between German round and long-heads ? Even those among the race theorists who go so far as to define their notion of race practically never abide by it but arbitrarily employ the term race now in the one and then in the other acceptation, without taking heed of the contradictions resulting therefrom.

The assumption that race mixing as a rule must be accompanied by great disadvantage is contradicted frequently by calling attention to the fact that the great cultural centres are to be found just in such regions as are most liable to race mixing. On this Nietzsche;

Treitschke, Rohrbach and others have laid stress. As a point of fact a glance at the continents shows that the height of cultural development stands in exact proportion to the possibilities of race and culture mixings, the geographical position of the respective country in respect to the sea playing an important rôle. Professor K. Schneider even advanced a theory that physical intermixture is a precondition for development <sup>44</sup>; but it seems to me that it is rather the mixture of the spiritual possessions, the discarding of all prejudices and superstitions such as results from the contact with foreign customs, which is most decisive for this. Where different races meet on common ground a crossing of the different culture elements takes place and cultural attainments increase on both sides. Such race contacts naturally ensue on the cross roads of civilization which in themselves are favourable for development. Secondly, racial stratification produces social differentiation. It forms a class of serfs which by means of compulsory labour are educated to steady habits of work; to the ruling class on the other hand is left that leisure requisite for the development of a high standard of life, luxury, and a more refined culture. And although this social differentiation brings with it many dangers for a safe development, it yet may give an impulse, supposing always that the conditions are favourable, for specially rapid progress.

All nations of any importance in history show a mixture of different races. As early as the dim past of history racial mixtures on an extensive scale must have taken place, as is proved by the fact that skulls of the most diverse racial types are found in the very same prehistoric gravefields.<sup>45</sup> And how extraordinarily mixed appear to have been the oldest rather cultured nations of Egypt, Babylon, and the whole of Western Asia, upon whose attainments rests our whole culture. Flinders Petrie, from representations on Egyptian monuments, describes five different types of races who ruled successively over Egypt. Among these were Negroes. According to Herodotus (ii, p. 100) eighteen Negro kings ruled over Egypt, as he had learned from Egyptian priests who read to him from their books. In Mesopotamia we find in the beginning the quite enigmatical people of the Sumerians, who certainly were neither Semites nor Aryan, but who had already attained to a very high culture and whose language in later times was cultivated by the Semitic Babylonians as the language of science, just the same as Europe spoke Latin in the Middle Ages. Over the whole of Western Asia and Egypt the Babylonian language was used for a long time as the language of diplomatic intercourse and



of higher society, in the same way as French has been used in more recent times throughout Europe. But would it seem justified for this reason to style the Babylonian culture, which forms indeed one of the foundations of our own culture, as Semitic?

This we could do evidently only by discarding the idea of racial giftedness, for we cannot know at all to which race the several creators of culture belonged.<sup>46</sup> Also the Kasites, probably an Aryan tribe, ruled over Babylon for some six hundred years, but they were rapidly Semitized. Finally came the Aryan Medes and Persians and conquered the country. The Persians were Aryans in the more narrow sense, their kings called themselves "Aryans of the Aryan tribe". Their closest kin were the Medes, but with them it seems that only a ruling class spoke the Aryan tongue, while the masses of the people, as inscriptions tell us, spoke the Elamitic, or new-Susan language, which certainly was not Aryan. The Medes, we learn from an inscription of Tiglatpileser IV, were called the dark-skinned; on the well-known mosaic, "The Battle of Alexander," the Persians have black beards.<sup>47</sup>

In Western Asia the Hittites were an important nation. Their language, as Hrozy and other authorities have shown, bore strong Aryan similarities, while their facial type was made conspicuous by big and crooked noses. Their neighbours were the Mitanni who likewise showed Aryan affinities. Also the Amorites and Philistines, the eternal antagonists of the Jews, are to-day by many scholars considered as Indogermanic tribes. Herodotus tells us that the Indogermanic Scythians once overran the whole of Asia as far down as Egypt (i, 105). The town of Bethsean in Palestine was subsequently called Scythopolis and the Scythian name seems to have been preserved in cuneiform inscriptions under the form of Ashguza, corrupted into Ashkenaz in the Old Testament. In other respects also, manifold Aryan influences on the Israelitic-Jewish culture are traceable.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand an Egyptian king, Herodotus tells us (ii, 103), penetrated as far as the country of the Scythians and Thracians (that is to say, the Northern Balkans), as was made known by triumphal columns; nay even the Colchians far up on the Black Sea were believed to be of Egyptian descent!

That, moreover, the Greeks and Romans since their very beginnings were strongly mixed races has already been demonstrated. Last of all mention must be made also of the high Arabian culture that was far in advance of the Christian one in the Middle Ages. Of this the Arabians alone can by no means claim to be the sole creators,

for they were essentially influenced by Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, North Africans (Berbers), and Jews.

Münsterberg in his *History of Chinese Art* maintains ancient connexions between old Chinese and Greek art. In one of his papers,<sup>49</sup> moreover, he says that certainly all art is developed in national ways, but never has an art originated exclusively from local germs without foreign initiative and influence. Thus perhaps Persian pottery came to China under Mongolic rule, where it developed into the blue-white porcelain which in its turn appeared in Europe, and through Delft and other imitations, decidedly influenced European style.

The most important of all cultural progresses, namely writing, came from the ancient Orient. Thurnwald has shown how cultural intermixture contributed to this.<sup>50</sup> The beginnings of writing are found with many primitive peoples,<sup>51</sup> and in some cases these beginnings are very clever, as for instance, a rebus-like sort of memory-aids and figural representations. This stage has not been passed by the Chinese in spite of all perfections. They have never found a way of resolving their pictorial script into syllables and letters. Thurnwald believes that this is due to the fact that the Chinese writing was developed by one and the same people. The Sumerian writing, on the contrary, was taken over by the Semitic Akkadians and Babylonians and this intermixture of races and cultures probably brought about the changing of the signs which originally stood for words into signs for syllables. The Egyptians went even a step farther, probably with the co-operation of aliens, in administrative documents, and to a certain extent they adopted the system of letters besides syllable signs. From them the Phœnicians learnt their use and later on developed the first true letter writing, to which the Greeks afterwards added the vowels. The Phœnician alphabet forms the root for all other alphabets.

In Europe in later times innumerable peoples and intellectual strains intermingled, and it would be quite hopeless to distinguish the separate parts the several races played in the make-up of these cultures. In most cases this would be as impossible as to find out from which river a particular wave in the ocean came.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

<sup>1</sup> Cf. William Dalton Babington, *Fallacies of Race Theories*, essays, London (Longman, Green), 1895, pp. 15, 21 seq. Babington points out that especially clerical historians maintain that the Teutons brought about the rejuvenation of Rome, this to show that God called the Teutons to bring about the fall of corrupt Rome and to raise Papacy in its place. But this also seems rather to be a reaction against the conception of Gibbon, Voltaire, and other free-thinkers who threw the blame of the fall of Rome on Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Romulus*, 9-12.

<sup>3</sup> Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, 2nd ed., vol. i, 1877, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> We have many proofs of the enormous number of Teuton slaves.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 4th ed., 1865, i, pp. 844-6 seq. Cato hands down the tradition that slaves must either work or sleep. When Greek characters are introduced in Roman comedies and slave marriages occur or the master enters into conversation with his slaves, the Roman writers remind the audience that they are not to be offended at seeing things that are usual in Athens (p. 909).

<sup>6</sup> Mommsen, vol. ii, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Loria, who gives numerous examples for what has been asserted here in *Die Sklavenwirtschaft im Altertum und im modernen Amerika*, *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1896.

<sup>8</sup> Czychlarz, *Institutionen des römischen Rechts*, 1893, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> In the same way as the aristocracy considers it a mesalliance when one of them marries an ordinary citizen.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Codex Theodosianus*, lib. iii, tit. xiv.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Kolb, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, 2nd edition, 1872, vol. i, p. 422.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. what Constantin Porphyrogenetos tells his son in Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Certainly the mixing of races was always on the increase in later times; yet under the first emperors racial pride was so strong that provincials were not considered of equal birth by the inhabitants of the City of Rome. (Cf. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1888, vol. i, pp. 225-37.) In the first century A.D. there were still fifty noble families who claimed descent from Æneas, his companions, or other pre-Roman ancestors.

<sup>13</sup> See Mommsen, vol. iii, pp. 498, 517. Further, 1, 38, 57, 63, 65; Dig. xxiii, tit. 3; Codex v, 2 Modestinus, *de Ritu nuptiarum*: "Semper in coniunctionibus non solum quid liceat considerandum est, sed et quid honestum sit" (cit. in 2, 42, Dig. xxiii, 3), Fustel de Coulanges, *a.a.O.*, pp. 283 seq., 580 seq.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Mommsen, vol. i, pp. 805, 807, 884 seq. "He who robs a citizen," says Cato the Elder, "ends his days in chains and fetters; but those who rob the City are clothed in gold and purple." Already in 234 B.C. complaints were made about the scarcity of marriages, family ties became loosened and divorces increased, terrible crimes were committed by people of the highest rank. In 184, when Cato was censor, he laid a high tax on prostitute boys.

<sup>15</sup> Let us suppose that a large part of our writings were lost and that an historian of the year 4000 on the basis of a few extant works to characterize the period 1500-2000 chanced upon H. St. Chamberlain only, and after an exact description of him then asserted: "Such was the German scholar of the later middle ages!" That would be exactly Houston Stewart Chamberlain's method, but the mere thought of it makes me shudder.

<sup>16</sup> Correspondence between Schiller and Körner, 19, xii, 1787.

<sup>17</sup> The son of Marcus Aurelius, the abject and cruel Commodus, had a beautiful face and the finest golden hair. (Cf. Herodian, i, 7.) However, it is supposed that his real father was a gladiator.



<sup>18</sup> Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. i, 1897; vol. ii, 1901.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Dr. Albert Reibmayer, *Inzucht und Vermischung beim Menschen*, 1897.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Chamberlain, *Nachträge zur 3 Auflage der Grundlagen*, 1901, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> For conditions in Assyria, see Landersdorfer, *Kultur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 1913, pp. 73, 107; for Macedonia, Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte*, 1906, p. 214; for Rome, Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*, i, 187.

<sup>22</sup> Recent colonial history offers strong proof for this. France has founded feudal colonies under clerical rule; Spain mining colonies, and the Anglo-Saxons free agricultural colonies, and by these have driven all competition out of the field. (Cf. Hopp, *Bundesstaat und Bundeskrieg in Nordamerika*, 1886, pp. 13, 41, 110 seq.)

<sup>23</sup> Cf. above all Loria's most instructive essay, mentioned above, and further the characteristic remarks of Hopp, pp. 39-40 and 67-8.

<sup>24</sup> L. Hartmann, *Der Untergang der antiken Welt*, in Hartmann and Kromayer, *Römische Geschichte*, 1919.

<sup>25</sup> Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, book i, also Herodotus. The influence of race mixtures Gomperz also accentuates in his *Griechische Denker*, 1896, vol. i, pp. 5 seq., 11, 23, 415-16; Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte* (Reclam), p. 299; see further the different views collected by Billeter, *Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums*, 1910, p. 417.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. H. Wirth, *Homer and Babylon*, 1921, where many proofs concerning the Semitic influences on the Greeks are given. Later ancient writers deduced all entire Greek knowledge from the Orient in a most exaggerated manner, and made all the celebrated Greek philosophers disciples of the Egyptians, Babylonians, etc. Cf. Diodorus, i, 23, 69, 96; Plutarch, Clement of Alexandria, and others; cf. also O. Willmann, *Geschichte des Idealismus*, 1894, vol. i, p. 47 seq. But already Diogenes Laërtius opposed this. There is no doubt that the great Greek philosophers learned much from the Orient, especially Pythagoras and Plato. The founder of the Stoic school, Zeno, and his most important disciples were certainly Orientals, mainly Semites, and this school not only formed the ideas of the noblest minds of later antiquity, but also mightily influenced the development of the ethical and political principles of our culture. Cf. P. Barth, *Die Stoa*, 3rd edition, 1922. W. Dilthey, *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation*, 1914.

<sup>27</sup> The Megares boasted that they had never given the right of citizenship to a stranger except to Heracles, but later they offered it to Alexander the Great, after the oracle had declared him to be a son of the gods.

<sup>28</sup> The sons of Spartans and female Helots could be adopted. Some of the greatest Spartans descended from such mixtures, for instance Gylippos, Kalikratides, Lysandros.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Busolt, *Griechische Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer*, 1892, p. 203. Coleman Philippon, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, 2 vols., 1911. Laurent, *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'humanité*, vol. ii, 1880.

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch, *Perikles*, 37.

<sup>31</sup> Westermarck, *Geschichte der menschlichen Ehe*, 1893, p. 368.

<sup>32</sup> Aristotle, *Politik*, translated by Stahr, 1895, p. 172.

<sup>33</sup> Isokrates, *Speech on the Peace*, § 88.

<sup>34</sup> Michel Clerc, *Les Météques Athéniens*, Paris, 1893, pp. 301-2.

<sup>35</sup> For this reason they were not allowed to attend the Olympic games. Even Aristotle, in spite of his close connexion to their royal house, considered the Macedonians barbarians, and his pupil Alexander was of the opinion that the Hellenes in comparison to his Macedonians might be counted as half-gods. How does that fit in with the assumption that the Hellenes even then were degenerate? See also what J. Jüthner says concerning the development and relations of the Hellenes and barbarians in his *Hellenen und Barbaren*, 1923.

<sup>36</sup> *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, ix, suppl. vol., 1877-8, p. 116.

<sup>37</sup> To prove the assumption that Greece had degenerated because of the weakening of the race, reference is wrongly made to Fallmerayer. This author really places the decay of the Hellenes in the Middle Ages, and even accentuates

very strongly that up to this time the Hellenic race was preserved pure. Vide his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, 1830, vol. i, p. 91. But even this assertion has since been refuted.

<sup>38</sup> Neither the Huns nor the Turks did so much harm to their enemies' countries as the Crusaders did in Christian Constantinople after they had taken it.

<sup>39</sup> The cause of the social decay of Greece, which also brought political decay in its train, Pöhlmann has described in a masterly manner in his *Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte*, 1906.

<sup>40</sup> Woltmann, *Politische Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 294; *Die Germanen in Frankreich*, 1907.

<sup>41</sup> Vide Fustel de Coulanges, pp. 470, 472. He says that Chlodwig, when he was baptized had no more than 6,000 Frankish warriors under his command: as opposed to this it should be noticed that the North of France, as a matter of fact, is to a considerable extent blond. Lapouge (p. 56) considers that the total Teuton immigrants amounted to a million.

<sup>42</sup> At Crècy no less than 1,600 barons and 4,000 knights fell. "There was hardly a noble family in France which did not weep for the loss of one or more of its members" (Prutz, *Staatengeschichte des Abendlandes im Mittelalter*, vol. ii, 1887, p. 229). At Maupertuis, 2,400 noblemen fell on the field (p. 234).

<sup>43</sup> Sometimes for financial reasons many citizens were even forced to buy titles of nobility, Philippson, *Westeuropa im Zeitalter von Philipp II, Elisabeth und Heinrich IV*, 1882, p. 285.

<sup>44</sup> K. Schneider in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 1924, p. 175.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, p. 679; Feist, p. 97; Luschan, *Zusammenhänge und Konvergenz*, 1918, p. 79.

<sup>46</sup> It is just as mistaken to assume, as Houston Stewart Chamberlain often does, that the Semites never effected anything cultural, for everything could be traced back to Egyptian or Sumerian influence; one might on such a logical basis contest that the Teutons ever performed anything for their culture is closely connected with the ancient world and the Bible and for a thousand years they used chiefly Latin and French for all higher intellectual performances. On the Sumerian question cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, 1892, pp. 22, 52, 56; further F. Hommel, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, 1885, p. 237.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. further Spengler, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, 2 vols., 1922, p. 199.

<sup>48</sup> Vide Professor Georg Beer, *Die Bedeutung des Ariertums für die israelitische Kultur* (Lecture delivered at the University of Heidelberg), 1922.

<sup>49</sup> O. Münsterberg, *Gibt es eine autochthone chinesische Kunst?* *Korrbl.*, 1914, pp. 40 et seq.

<sup>50</sup> Thurnwald, "Psychologie des primitiven Menschen," 1923 (*Handb. d. vergl. Psychologie*), pp. 243-65.

<sup>51</sup> In the quite isolated Easter Island many tables with long inscriptions were found, which go back to the black Melanesians who formerly ruled there.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MODERN RACE THEORIES

#### GOBINEAU'S THEORY

COUNT ARTHUR GOBINEAU<sup>1</sup> was one of the earliest apostles of modern race theories. The first volume of his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* offers a good survey of his opinions; the following three volumes are wearisome reading owing to repetitions of his few fundamental ideas. This theorist assumes the existence of three basic races: viz., first and foremost the White Race, then the Yellow Race, and the Black Race, the lowest of all racial types. The white stock, to-day preserved most purely in the Aryans, swarmed forth from the central plateaux of Asia towards the south and east, mixing on their way in different degrees of intensity with the primeval Negroes, the results of these crossings being the several Semitic peoples and the Egyptians, among others. From the crossings of the white and yellow races issued the English, Germans, and Russians. Gobineau repeatedly and emphatically lays stress on the necessity of race mixing as a generating factor for culture. Only mixed races were capable of bringing forth any civilization. In the same proportion as white racial elements are embodied in a people is that people's standing among the nations; and, inversely, even a strain of Negro blood debases a people. But this also has its good side for it lends the somewhat prosaic white a touch of artistic ardour. Gobineau ever and again points out that artistic giftedness is never present except where there has been a mixing of sensuous and imaginative Negro blood, and that the several races are artistically gifted according to the amount of crossing they underwent with the black primeval who, however, unalloyed can put his artistic sensuousness to no good use on account of his intellectual inferiority. "The Aryan peoples," says Gobineau, "are prone to matter-of-factness and lack the artistic vein. They are careful and clear in their manner of reasoning, speaking, and thinking, and also possess the highest power of comprehension, they are quick to grasp the essentials and so forth." The two chief Aryan instincts are "common sense and the faculty of finding the useful". This seems little in harmony



with other descriptions of the Aryan character. In respect to artistic giftedness Gobineau says: "Thus all the phenomena hitherto considered converge into one result, viz., that strains of black blood, when not too thick, are liable to stimulate the intelligence of the white in so far that it arouses his imaginative power, makes him more artistic, and gives him stronger wings of fancy, but on the other hand, black blood, however diluted, blunts his intellect." Judging from all these criteria, Count Gobineau, to whom nobody can deny artistic giftedness, must have had a rather plentiful Negro strain in his blood.

Of the idea of organic evolution Count Gobineau is quite ignorant; influences of environment he does not believe of material importance. The Aryans, according to him, would have attained the same level of development even had they dwelt around the pole or under the equator. Mixture with other racial elements, though useful and necessary for them, must in the end lead to their own perdition, and to the harm of the whole world, because this engenders a terrible degeneracy of the noble race.

Fritz Friedrich, in his criticism of this writer's work, although he admires his personality, has depicted well and ably Gobineau's historical vision: "The Aryans from the very beginnings of the world have represented the image of God in immaculate glory, and predestined to pervade the rest of humanity as a purifying leaven, are doomed to perish by this very act. This is Gobineau's conception, and a truly poetical conception it is, of so enormously concentric power and inexorable impetus of tragical earnestness that there are few thoughts comparable to it." He sees "a catastrophe of the Aryans" breaking in, a tragic fall which by one of his followers has been likened to the Teutonic myths of the downfall of the gods and the death-struggle of the Nibelungs.

As mentioned before, Gobineau strongly influenced Richard Wagner. From his circle the German Gobineau Society, which undertook to publish a German edition of his works and developed the worship of Aryanism, was formed. Through the activity of this society the memory of Gobineau has been revived in recent times in France also, where he had been almost entirely forgotten, but his theories nevertheless failed to meet a response there. The German votaries of Gobineau regard their master as an apostle of Germanism and try to make believe that he glorified the Germans at the expense of his own countrymen. Gobineau was very far from this, however, as Friedrich shows (p. 139). On the contrary, he had a very poor opinion of the Germans, whom he considered to

be mainly of Slav and Celtic descent, and had much less Teutonic blood in their veins than the French.

Fritz Friedrich, in spite of his great sympathy and admiration for Gobineau, gives a critical and very unbiassed review of the scientific value of his theories. "Gobineau," he says (p. 81), "is a universal dilettante, without methodical training in any province of science, least of all in history which, considering the character of his book, he would have needed most of all." "Gobineau never had any solid knowledge of the Middle Ages he glorifies so much" (p. 83) . . . "scientific criticism of historical sources was a thing unknown to him; he accepted confidingly whatever he found, but unhesitatingly twisted all things round in a most arbitrary way" (p. 85). "Everything else is his own sheer invention . . . little respect for historical facts." . . . "Of specimens of this method of handling the whole book is crammed full" (pp. 86-7). "Gobineau either unintentionally or wilfully ignores the existence of a critical exegesis of the Old Testament, and rejects bluntly all criticisms of the facts contained in the Bible, every interpretation other than literal and historic-chronological" (p. 89). "The facts are false and the motives fictitious. The reference to Movers cannot clear up the obvious nonsense" (p. 94). "Startling etymologies and naïve blunderings" (p. 97). "Real collegian blunders" (p. 101). "The assertion is in any case sheer nonsense" (p. 102). "This polyhistorian seems to ignore that throughout the whole of the Middle Ages the Latin language was the rule in public records" (p. 103). "A series of like absurdities may be found in every chapter" (p. 104). "The details of Greek history are mis-stated to such an extent that it seems as if they had been faked" (p. 114). "In some single cases he does not hesitate to suppress such facts as do not suit him or to strain the meaning of the texts to such a degree that we should be impelled to call this doctored, did we not know what tricks his imagination is accustomed to play upon him" (p. 182). "There is in this much evil design, much lack of understanding of historical greatness, and but little of that sense of duty a historian is in honour bound to possess, for he would hardly venture to treat the objects of his own fantasy as if they were history" (p. 194). "The cruel violation of all logic, the truly barbarian prejudice unmitigated by any striving after justice, the giddy haste of the judgments always tending towards exaggeration, have in them something truly painful" (p. 207). "Quite apart from the question whether the race theory in itself be right or wrong, the historical constructions laid down in books 2-6 of the

*Essays* cannot lay claim to scientific consideration, neither in their general features nor in details. They neither offer a serviceable source of knowledge nor a possible substructure for further race research. Not one single observation of this whole work, even when in itself seemingly true, may be taken as proven on the authority of the writer ; the whole work of research, on the contrary, must be done anew from its very foundations upwards " (p. 128).

These last judgments of a race theorist may be paired with Chamberlain's views, who taxes him with "wrongheadedness", calls him "a perverse anti-scientific spirit" and such like. "A man like Gobineau," he says, "has not the faintest notion of the enormous intricacy of the problem he tackles and seeks to solve with such naïve pansophism." Chamberlain, however, should be the last to venture to criticize Gobineau, for he certainly surpasses him in "perverse anti-scientific spirit".

Extraordinarily characteristic of Gobineau is his strict adherence to the letter of the Bible. He rejects prehistoric science off-hand on the simple ground that the immensity of time it covers is inconsistent with the chronology of the Bible. With regard to the progress of science, Gobineau is sceptical, for in the time of Abraham, he opines, one must of necessity have had better information than at the present day respecting the primitive conditions of humanity, and so forth. Gobineau's invectives against such branches of science as will not serve his views are somewhat ludicrous, for instance, against national economy. Gobineau, also, is not bashful in admitting that his race theory is intended to support his reactionary clerical views. Of his race book he says himself : "It is the outward expression of the instincts with which I was born." It is to serve as a means in combating the "theorists of subversion" and of "eccentric liberalism", and in upholding the rights of the nobility and of Biblical revelation. His political ideals, however, are by no means loyalty to king and fatherland, for these notions both have their origin in the struggle of the states against feudal separatism. The aristocratic caste, having preserved the Aryan race in its greatest purity, is predestined to rule enthroned in feudal sovereignty over the subdued and inferior elements. Against patriotism, Gobineau inveighs most violently, and the idea of a fatherland he denounced as a "Canaanite monstrosity" forced upon the Aryans by the Semites.<sup>2</sup>



## THE ANTHROPO-SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOOL

Gobineau in his time could erect his constructions on the basis of race as a linguistic unit. Since then, however, the progress in the study of anthropology has more and more made it evident that these linguistic units comprise the most manifold racial types. Consequently the anthropo-sociological school pays no regard to political or linguistic boundaries but endeavours on the ground of somatologic characteristics to reintegrate the original races. The chiefs of this school are the French anthropologist G. Vacher de Lapouge and the German Otto Ammon. Lapouge's chief work is *Les Sélections Sociales*. A good synopsis of his theories is offered by himself in a paper entitled *The Fundamental Principles of Anthro-po-Sociology*, which has been translated into several foreign languages.<sup>3</sup> He distinguishes above all a long-headed, blond, and tall race, which he calls "homo europaeus" and which he mainly identifies with the Aryans. As to psychological characteristics, the "homo europaeus", he tells us, is distinguished by ambitiousness, energy, boldness, idealism, and a proneness towards protestantism. The brunet, broad-headed, thick-set race dwelling all over Central Europe by the side of and intermixed with long-heads he calls, in accordance with the scientific terminology, "homo alpinus". To this race he attributes conservative, prudent, less ingenious, and Catholic predilections. The third chief race of Europe is the "homo mediterraneus"—long-headed though brunet, and in moral qualities below the short-headed people. Lapouge established twelve laws which, however, are comprised in the one law of the superior intellectual alertness of the "homo europaeus". In support of this thesis he maintains that the "homo europaeus", on the whole, is found in greater material prosperity and that he has a bigger tax-paying capability than the "homo alpinus"; he chiefly dwells in the cities and contributes a higher percentage to the intellectual classes and emigrants; he is also a more fervid devotee of cycling! Cycling as a racial characteristic is also explained as an expression of mental alertness. But Lapouge's delight in the "homo europaeus" is not quite without a drop of bitterness. In historic times there has become noticeable a continual increase in the cephalic indices, pointing to a lamentable increase of round-headedness. Lapouge sees in this an inexorable law of historic development. Social progress everywhere and at all times is effected through the conquest of a lower people by a race of lords who hold the former in salutary servitude. Thus also the long-

heads of Central Europe are the descendants of Teutonic conquerors who once subdued the round-headed original populations, where these were not protected by inaccessible mountains. But in the course of time wars, revolutions, private feuds, religious persecutions, celibacy, and finally also ill-assorted marriages, resulted in the nobility becoming diluted and eventually dying out through degeneracy and intermixture with base blood.

Lapouge's imagination rises to a lofty height when he proposes, for the sake of special racial perfection, to impregnate artificially females of certain racial qualities with the semen of males of like racial perfection. By this method one such human stallion might be able to produce some 200,000 descendants.

On similar lines run the theories of Otto Ammon.<sup>4</sup> In his division and description of races he sticks closely to Lapouge, but lays more stress on the beneficial effect of the "struggle for life". Never before have there been offered fairer chances to gifted proletarians of rising to high positions by dint of thriftiness and capability, though to be sure comparatively few of them meet with success, because the great masses of the workers are inferior morally and intellectually. The successful employers are apotheosized by him as the models of all Teutonic virtues. The greater percentage of long-headed in the cities as contrasted to the country is brought about through the attraction the cities exercise on the intellectually brighter long-heads. In the cities the fittest of these already selected elements rise to the higher social classes, but the exhausting effect of city life conjointly with the enormous brain fatigue, which this selection of industrialists, merchants, professors, etc., must undergo, results in this cream of the race dying out after a few generations, a process which in the long run is naturally accompanied by a racial deterioration. In this way the great cities devour the best elements of a nation.<sup>5</sup> As to the origin of the eminently noble long-headed race Ammon adopts the hypothesis that the Aryans represent an especially strict and therefore precious selection formed by the hardships of the glacial epoch. Conditions of life in the later periods also contributed to make the Aryan what he now is. "Only such men as were brought up under the rigid sky of Northern Europe to hunting, war, and knightly sport could show those characteristics which are the boast of the Aryan, namely strength, energy, boldness, self-reliance, truthfulness, compassion for the weak, true humaneness, etc." If "compassion for the weak" be an Aryan characteristic, why is Ammon so dead against the "protection of the weak" by social legislation?

It is also surprising that Ammon bestows great praise upon our present social order, which yet, according to him, cruelly roots up the flower of mankind. Instead of making common cause with the round-headed mob of democrats who strive for an improvement of this murderous social order, Ammon pours all the vials of his wrath upon them. In matters of social reforms and whatever may increase the influence of the inferior social and racial elements, one ought to be on one's guard. Even the reduction of school fees seems a grave matter to him. Only the social reforms initiated by Bismarck find favour in his eyes, because they are liable to make the workers less susceptible to "windy internationalism". The prohibition of Sunday work, however, seems to him of doubtful value, because it might happen that on a Sunday some elderly and learned gentleman would have to take his own letters to the railway station while the post-boy is having his Sunday drink in the inn. There is no need to say that Ammon is in favour of legislation against the socialists, only he advocates a more "draconic" law than that of Bismarck, which was "too mild". Of course he also inveighs most violently against universal suffrage and eulogizes the old Prussian electoral system of the three classes, because only by this could the nobler few be preserved from being outnumbered by the masses. As a specimen of Ammon's wisdom the following may be mentioned: he calculated on the ground of the theory of probabilities that among the German citizens possessed of the right of voting who in his time numbered 11,000,000, 9,000,000 were "average", 800,000 intellectually inferior, etc., and only 2,717 he classed as coming up to the higher standards. From out of these, he says, Parliament should be elected. The people in the highest class count the full number of eleven. It is to be hoped that Ammon counted himself among them.

A fitting answer to this has been given by Carl Jentsch, whose small book offers entertainment conjointly with his usual vast information.<sup>6</sup> But though we may pass on without paying further heed to Ammon's sociological writings, due consideration must be taken for his anthropological studies, for he claims to have based them on "exact" measurements and observations. At Ammon's instigation comprehensive measurements were taken of the conscripts of the Duchy of Baden during a period of seven years, and the materials collected took Ammon another five years to work up. The results of this work are laid down in a volume of imposing size.<sup>7</sup> Its methods and conclusions have been criticized closely and most severely in an anthropological review by Ladislaus Gumpłowicz,<sup>8</sup>



who came to the conclusion that Ammon's theories had no scientific basis at all. Although the editor of the review offered Ammon unlimited space for reply, he restricted himself to a "declaration" contained in eighteen lines in which he declines a discussion.

#### THE RACE THEORY OF H. S. CHAMBERLAIN

Among all race theories the one advanced by H. S. Chamberlain is remarkable through form, tenor, and success.<sup>9</sup> The author, who is British born, became the champion of anti-British Pangermanism, anti-Semitism, and Teutonic racial pride. His chief book shows great literary talent and most extensive reading. Its influence on the last German emperor and on public opinion in Germany was enormous and preposterous. An English edition also appeared which met with the praise of some very well-known British and American statesmen and writers too.

It is no easy task to say what Chamberlain means by race, for he rejects all definitions of what race is, and all strict delimitations between the several races. He leaves it open whether the word race is to be applied in the acceptance of species or of variety, that is to say, whether humanity forms one single, or a group of several, species. Even as regards the single races, he says no decisive word as to whether they sprang from one source or whether they were derived from several sources. Thus he says: "What is an Aryan? What kind of human being is he? To what concrete notion does he correspond? Only one who is innocent of ethnography can venture a definite answer to this question. In their physical characteristics all the several nations we have learned to comprise under the name of Aryans differ widely, they show the greatest diversity in respect to skull shape, colour of skin, eyes, and hair; and even admitting the prehistoric existence of a uniform race of primeval Indo-Europeans there is no gainsaying the fact that increasing evidences are daily being gathered which make it probable that from times immemorial other types also of differing characteristics co-existed in great number within those peoples we call to-day the Aryan nations, so that at the best single individuals, but never whole nations, can be spoken of as Aryans." He emphatically points out, moreover, that neither language, nor physical characteristics, such as cephalic index, can make possible the distinction or definition of races. But not a single one of these sentences remains without contradiction by the author of them. His whole theory presupposes the closest relationship among all Aryans, for he finds them to be eminently united in their mental constitution even to the minutest details.

What then does Chamberlain imply by race, which to him is the base and source of the whole of history? Science being a failure, he goes back to common sense, experience of daily life, and instinct as the indicators of race in each special case. "By the mere virtue of our qualities as living beings there dwells in us an infinitely rich and sure capacity of hitting upon the right thing in case of need even without erudition." "Pure science is a noble plaything," he tells us and some other such phrases of modern obscurantism. As a "plain, blunt man", however, he tries to acquaint himself with the most important facts respecting practical life, and therefore sets object teaching higher than academic subtilizing. He goes to the cattle-breeder and gardener to learn their conception of race and tries then to apply it to human history. The aim of the breeder is to develop in a given animal the highest possible pitch of such qualities as are desirable for the purposes of man, for instance, swiftness in horses, milk in cows, fatness in swine. If in this the breeder has been successful then he will say of the product of breeding that the animal has got race. This, of course, is not meant to imply any general notion of race. In the same way also Chamberlain refrains from defining what race is and restricts himself to explaining it by its alleged effects, just about the same way as a boy might say: "I was bad when I got a hiding afterwards, and good when they called me a good boy." This is exactly the method of our author. All greatness, according to him, is the outcome of some exuberance and this again is only the effect of race.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, where there such good fruits are found there is race at the bottom, and vice versa. What race bestows above all is "surety of character". In another place he calls the Aryans "curiously characterless" as compared to the Jews. Is it because the Aryans have no race? Wavering in character is for Chamberlain the surest indication of half-bred races.

What a nice logical tangle! Nowhere does he prove that race produces exuberance—he simply assumes this. And then he infers from exuberance the presence of race, which he even defines as the "generator of exuberance". If now this work is not to be deprived of all meaning whatever one will have to speak of race where there prevails a great amount of homogeneity, and crossings are of little moment. In this acceptation it is rather the primitive peoples who can be called true races, peoples among whom the several individuals are much more like one another than is the case among the higher differentiated cultured nations. But neither exuberance

nor surety of character place the Australian aborigines above the Europeans. Continual wavering of character is, on the contrary, a chief trait of all primitive peoples. Let us, however, accept for the moment this hypothesis, in order to trace further Chamberlain's trend of thoughts. An important point in his conception is the idea of the plasticity of race. Races spring into existence and pass away, or rather, they are transformed. "A noble race," he says, "does not fall from the heavens but grows more and more perfect by degrees, just in the same way as a grafted fruit-tree; and such processes of development may begin anew at any time, whenever the pre-requisites are created by contingencies or—as in the case of the Jews—by a determined plan." As contrasted to Gobineau's conception, viz. that God created three races of which the first is rather a failure, while the last, after a great deal of experimentalizing as it were, constitutes a final success and an insuperable piece of work, Chamberlain's viewpoint marks a progress.

But is race something absolutely binding? Can a given individual rise above the level of his own race or sink below it? Chamberlain's answer to this question is doubtful and wavering. He separates Judaism from the Jews as individuals, does not quite disclaim the power of religious ideas over the physical nature of races, speaks for the possibility of assimilation of the Jews. On the other hand, the tiniest traits in the spiritual physiognomy of a given individual are sufficient for Chamberlain to diagnosticate its race with apodictical certainty. One culture, he teaches us, may destroy another, but not pervade it; and yet he always speaks of the Teutons—both Catholics and Protestants—as having been tainted by Judaism in Christianity. Also the purely Servian Bosniac and the Hellenic Macedonian, according to him, in that they adhere to the Mohammedan religion are of exactly the same mentality and cultural disposition as any Osmanli can be. There are in the human brain, he says, certain "*plis de pensée*" (folds of thought) proper to every race and determining the ways of thinking of the individual; and yet nothing grieves him so much as the fact that nobody ever did so many anti-Teutonic things as just the Teutons themselves. Nay, more, Chamberlain goes so far as to tax the Teutons repeatedly with a "strange and fatal disposition" of adopting alien views of the world and fighting for them as for their own most sacred ideals! Thus we have here a fold of thought of spiritual perversity! A strange predominant disposition to waive all one's other dispositions!

To the question: "Where does noble race come from?"



Chamberlain replies, "From other noble races." Thus we never get beyond the "in the beginning was the noble race". Chamberlain furthermore lays stress on the necessity of cross-breeding for the formation of new noble races; and indeed there is no gain-saying the fact—pointed out also by our author—that the intellectually most productive provinces of Germany are just those where non-Teutonic admixture in the racial stock of the population has been greatest. This principle also is not left without important restrictions. Crossings are not indiscriminately desirable and promising except when firstly there is not too wide a distance between the mixing racial types, and secondly, when the influx of the alien blood-strain is temporarily limited, that is to say, if it goes on as quickly as possible and then ceases. Later on Chamberlain again states exceptions: also "the crossing between very heterogeneous beings" may under favourable circumstances lead to the "formation of a noble race". He himself quotes some instances: "One of the most noble beings Nature can boast of"—the true Newfoundland dog has arisen from a cross between the Eskimo dog and a French staghound; and likewise the English thoroughbred horse<sup>11</sup> has come from Arabian stallions and English mares. Should the Eskimo dog and the French one show fewer physical divergencies than their masters, the Eskimos and the French, or two other members of mankind? That the cross must only take place once does not seem to be consistent with the experience of breeders, and Chamberlain himself admits that the English thoroughbred from time to time must be freshened up by Arabian horses.

Then, it is maintained, the chief condition, after all these preliminaries, for obtaining noble breeds is a certain amount of inbreeding (abstaining from new crosses) so that the new racial type may become fixed and strengthened. It would almost seem as if inbreeding alone, even when the primary elements were unfavourable, was sufficient to produce a noble breed, as indeed is maintained by Lapouge (whom Chamberlain often follows). To corroborate this he adduces the Spanish Jews (Sephardim), whom Chamberlain praises to the skies for the mere reason that by refraining from mixture they more strictly observed the "sacred law of the blood" than the northern stock of Jews (Ashkenazim), though both according to Chamberlain originally came from one and the same quite unhappy combination of clashing racial elements. And now we beg the reader to notice the astonishing equilibristic ardour of Chamberlain. The North European Jews admittedly

mixed with Teutons and Slavs—did they suffer racial deterioration by this? Yet more: in the supplement to the third edition, Chamberlain assumes that the noble Spanish Jews in reality are Goths “of whom it is reported that in earlier times they adopted in large numbers the Jewish religion”. But these Gothic neophytes evidently mixed with the other Jews—why is there no racial deterioration here through the cross of Teutons and Jews? Moreover, the so-called Sephardim have mostly very Oriental features and dark hair and eyes, which does not speak for Goth ancestry. Chamberlain’s assertion that the Jewish proselytes through all these centuries were always but the dregs of ethnic chaos is also rather farcical—does this hold good also in regard to the noble Goths? In order to emphasize the racial difference between Sephardim and Ashkenazim he asserts that the former hold the latter in an “almost comical abhorrence” (p. 275). In another place, quite to the contrary, he speaks of the “admirable solidarity of the Jews, which flies across main and mountain and is stronger than all diversities of language and customs!” That this alleged cleavage of the Jews in Sephardim and Ashkenazim in reality is but an arbitrary assumption<sup>12</sup> must here be left out of consideration, as our purpose only was to give a specimen of Chamberlain’s reasoning.

Chamberlain’s way of comparing the human races with the animal races of the cattle breeder seems to us of greater importance. Artificial selections evidently must result in a constant increase of those peculiar qualities which the breeder desires in his stock of animals. Human races, however, it should be borne in mind, can never be formed under the same deliberate selection as domestic animals; and also animal races by mere inbreeding would never become nobler. The term “noble” in this sense is indeed utterly misplaced. Human types we should call noble when free from one-sidedness and in every respect developed harmoniously. Speaking of high-bred animals it would be much more to the purpose to style their qualities as one-sided exaggerations. If we are to adopt at all Chamberlain’s moral qualification of the animal world,<sup>13</sup> then it still seems questionable as to whether it would be more suitable to term the wild boar, sacred to the ancients as a symbol of Nature’s undaunted strength and fecundity, noble, or the thoroughbred Yorkshire pig which is little more than an aggregation of fat and flesh and requires the most tender care and attention. Even the racehorse, so extolled by Chamberlain, is a quite unnatural product which, it is true, can be brought to keep up the utmost

speed for a few minutes, but which, on the other hand, is far behind the non-thoroughbred natural horse in courage and intelligence. In many cases the nobility of such animal races simply rests on pathologic phenomena, as, for instance—leaving the obesity of pigs out of question—with pug-dogs where rickets seem to be the starting point of the race. According to Chamberlain's conception, one ought to consider as the paragon of "noble" race, let us say, a family of famous pugilists producing a numerous offspring of champions, strong in muscles but stunted in brains.

As contrasted to pure breeding, race-mixture, we are told, is followed by the most dire consequences and brings out above all fickleness of character. This idea rests on the crude and unwarranted assumption that cross-breeding results in a sort of mechanical mixture of conflicting elements. But might it not quite as well be likened to a chemical compound with a new and strongly marked character of its own? Scientific psychology has not yet found a definite answer to this question.

Though now Chamberlain's general assumptions on race breeding are without any real consistency this is even more the case where he goes into details. What good can there be in all theories about well or ill-assorted racial combinations if there exists no standard whereby to distinguish the racial kinsman from the alien, and if indeed we are left quite in the dark as to what alien, related, closely related, races, etc., are? Failing to circumscribe the abstraction "race" and bringing forward as unrelated races now Negroes and Aryans, now Teutons and Greeks, Chamberlain leaves us no possibility of applying this notion to history. The fall of Greek culture and race is explained by the influx of "unrelated" peoples; but as such unrelated intruders he enumerates the Romans, Macedonians, Celts, Teutons, Slavs, all of them "Aryans"! Drawing the circle of desirable relationship still a little closer one might arrive at the conclusion that crosses between North and South Germans, or between the East and the West of any of the German Confederate States are undesirable as obliterating individuality.

Chamberlain feels well enough the utter bankruptcy of his racial diagnosis founded on physical characteristics. Therefore he boldly rejects the whole method and refers to the instinct of the breeder, who, he maintains, recognizes race without being able to define it. Little children who are not yet infected with the prejudices of the grown-ups—and especially those of savants—have the miraculous faculty of smelling the Jew, of recognizing



him by instinct. Unfortunately the pretty anecdote Chamberlain adduces in corroboration of this has been proved a gross misstatement.<sup>14</sup> Besides, are detestable prejudices to be found among scholars only, and not sometimes also with little children? The latter at least, if they have none of their own, have those of their nurses, governesses, parents, and playmates. By adopting this method of racial diagnosis Chamberlain makes the nursery-tale triumph over science, the uncontrollable feeling over reason, the atavistic instinct of primeval brutish ancestors over reason-controlled will.

THE RACE THEORIES OF EUGEN FISCHER, HANS GÜNTHER, AND  
F. LENZ

While heretofore the dilettanti Gobineau and Chamberlain were considered to be the chief representatives of race "theory", a few experts have come to the fore in recent times, namely, the distinguished anthropologist Eugen Fischer, at present professor at the University of Berlin, and Dr. F. Lenz, Professor at Munich, by the side of whom Hans Günther also deserves mention.

These three authors, essentially agreeing with each other in results, strive in their works to come up to the requirements of strictly scientific methods, and are also careful to maintain a dignified tone in their writings<sup>15</sup>; they even go so far as to blame the extravagancies of the race fanatics.

The gist of all these theories is the glorification of the Nordic, the Teuton race, which is represented as the genial, the heroic type: but this race, through the abolition of the aristocratic order of life and through the growth of democracy and industrialism, has been more and more pushed back and is seriously threatened in its existence. To-day, Günther believes, only one-tenth—at the most—of all Germans are of pure Nordic stock. The great majority of all Germans, and indeed of all Europeans, are mongrels. This is the case more particularly in all Alpine countries, in Austria, Bavaria, etc., where the populations partly belong to the Alpine, partly to the Dinaric types, being thus consanguineous to Mongols and Jews.

However, the delineation of the mental characteristics of these racial elements seems to us full of contradictions. Günther, as also Fischer and Lenz, ascribes to the Nordic race organizing and political giftedness to an eminent degree: Günther even maintains that only this race is capable of producing great statesmen and

military leaders. I will not waste my time here by adducing instances such as make this thesis highly questionable. One of the greatest of generals, Prince Eugene of Savoy, for instance, who lives in popular songs as "the noble knight", was remarkably small in stature, black-haired, dark-complexioned, and certainly not a Nordic type. Quite apart from this it strikes us that Fischer in one and the same breath attributes to the Nordic race excessive individualism, separatism, lack of public spirit, discipline, and subordination, little power of suggestion and suggestiveness, all qualities which are not exactly conducive to the formation of states. Günther likewise points out their proneness to particularism and disunion, their injustice against alien elements. Lenz is of the opinion that their instincts are more of an individualistic than of a social trend, and points out that the Chinese have been united in one gigantic empire these 5,000 years, while the Nordics, subdivided into numerous small groups, went on destroying one another. Seemingly these authors ascribe to the Nordic race rather the faculty of ruling over other, more docile races, than of governing themselves. But why then did the Anglo-Saxons succeed? Why were England and America able to grow into enormous empires without rooting out one another? Should the particularistic propensities of the Germans not be easier explained from old historic habits rather than from innate instincts? Bismarck, be it mentioned by the way, expressed an opinion that the Germans when unalloyed had but little political sense because of their extreme individualism. On the contrary, innumerable writers have praised strict discipline as an innate German virtue.

In some respects, however, the Nordic race even seems to need protection against their own friends. Thus Eugen Fischer asserts that it lacks creative power in music, and Lenz also (p. 421) speaks of the comparatively insignificant musical giftedness of the Nordics, in proof of which he refers to the scanty musical productions of the Indian Aryans, the Hellenes, the modern Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons.

Günther, quite on the contrary, believes them to possess the highest musical powers (p. 143). In point of fact, many great composers have been strikingly dark in hair and eye pigmentation, and by no means Nordic in facial traits. Fischer's thesis that the Teuton race has an "aversion against quiet, steady work", seems a bit risky, this virtue being, as Günther also maintains, a distinct prerogative of the Alpine race, which he considers related to the Mongols. But then what of the much extolled German thorough-

ness, assiduity and pedantry? Are we henceforward to praise "Mongolic" assiduity in a scholar or a merchant? Fischer's assertion that the Teutons are but little inclined to adopt alien ideas, too, seems little plausible. This scholar evidently fails to see that we have taken over our calendar from Babylon, our alphabet from Phœnicia, our ciphers from India, our religion from Judæa, our laws from the "racial chaos" of the late Roman Empire, our philosophy from Greece, and most of the foundations of our exact sciences from the Arabs. As contrasted to this thesis of Fischer's, Günther finds that just the facility of waiving their own attainments in favour of alien ones is a specific trait of the Nordics.

The Mediterranean (or in Günther's terminology, the Westic) type is far less highly esteemed by this authority than the Nordic, with the sole exception of higher musical giftedness. He finds in them, as peculiar faults, a certain ferocity and cruelty, fickleness, lack of foresight, and suggestiveness. He also finds that the power of imagination is far less developed with them (and consequently with the French, Italians, and Spaniards!) than with the Teutons. Lenz, on the contrary, lays stress on their peculiar artistic, pictorial giftedness. After all, the Italians, Spaniards, and French have to their credit some good works of art, and Woltmann's hypothesis that this is only due to the Teuton strain in their blood cannot be taken seriously. Some other opinions Günther advances on the Mediterraneans are also quite unpalatable, for instance, that they are entirely ruled by sexuality, a reproach evidently directed against the Romance peoples. Criminal statistics, however, show that immoral offences occur comparatively much more frequently in Germany than in France.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the following data, collected by myself and referring to the last years before the world war show that the number of illegitimate children and of divorces was by no means higher in the Romance than in the Teutonic countries. The percentage of illegitimate births was:—Carinthia, 37·3; Salzburg, 25·5; Styria, 24·2; Lower Austria, 22·6; Sweden, 15; Denmark, 11; Hungary, 9·2; Germany, 9·1; France, 8·6; Belgium, 6·3; Switzerland, 4·8; Italy, 4·6; Holland, 2·3. The number of divorces was (per 10,000 of the population): in Switzerland, 53; Holland, 30; Germany, 21; Sweden, 15; Belgium, 20; Italy, 10. These figures show that religion (divorces!) and traditional customs have a much greater influence on these matters than race.<sup>17</sup>

That the Mediterraneans are deficient in protestant spirit and



romantic art will only be maintained by such as are entirely ignorant of history and literature. Protestant tendencies appeared in the Romance countries much earlier than in the Teutonic ones. Calvin was much stricter in his Protestantism than was Luther, and as to romantic art the very name of this school betrays its derivation from the Romance cultures. This was remarked already by August Wilhelm Schlegel, one of the founders of the romantic school in German literature.<sup>18</sup>

The Dinaric race, with Austria and the Balkans as its chief habitat, is depicted by Eugene Fischer somewhat after the pattern employed by the more benevolent North Germans when speaking of the Austrians: imagination, musical talents, carelessness, lack of foresight, good naturedness, intelligence without faculty of organization. Günther, on the other hand, finds in this type "rude force and frankness", "heroism", "strong patriotism and love of the home country"; the Bavarian particularism, according to Günther, depends on the Dinaric or Dinaric Nordic racial strain in this people. At the same time he believes the Dinarics to be closely akin, racially, to the western Asiatic peoples, the Armenians and Jews, though he allows the existence of a remarkable psychic difference between them.

This school speaks worst of the Alpine (or Ostic) race, which likewise forms the chief portion of the populations in Austria, South Germany, and more particularly in Switzerland, Günther characterizes this race as "mediocre and ignoble"; another such "race specialist", Otto Hauser, speaks of its "deep inbred vulgarity". Patient industry, tractableness, thriftiness, love of family, common sense, business instincts, and such like commonplace virtues are their lot; but on the other hand, they lack progressiveness, patriotism, the nobler conception of love, sense of honour, warlike spirit, capacity for leadership; in short they are ponderous, prosaic, servile fellows. Even incest and cretinism, Günther believes, are phenomena of degeneracy in the Alpine race.

On looking more closely at this picture we find strange contradictions in it. At first Günther (p. 151) finds that the Alpines "on account of the absence in them of the Nordic lust of power, to be easy and peaceful neighbours, tractable and quiet subjects". They are born pacifists (p. 227), slow of intellect, conservative in politics, as becomes visible especially by the example offered by France. France, in fact, is the country where the Nordic element has lost most ground and where to-day, according to Lapouge, the Alpine race prevails (p. 297); a state of things which finds its

expression in the growing vulgarity of manners. At the same time, however, Günther maintains that the French revolution was an upheaval of the subdued Alpines and Mediterraneans against the Nordic upper class, though the leaders of the revolution themselves were Nordics. How does this agree with the thesis that the Alpine race produces docile quiet subjects? How can the notorious French agility, frivolity, aggressive, national vain-gloriousness be brought into keeping with the clumsiness and peacefulness of the prevailing Alpine race? The race theorists, to be sure, are not at a loss, and ascribe all this to the Mediterranean strain in the French blood, but are unable to adduce even the shadow of a proof for the assertion. The Alpines are said to be entirely deficient in creative power; but leading authorities assume that they first introduced the elements of all civilization, viz. agriculture, domestication of animals, and the use of metals; and Günther also seems unable to disclaim this.

The Alpines are styled by Günther as "pacifists par excellence"; also their supposed kinsmen, the Mongols, are, according to Lenz, remarkably peaceful, as evidenced by the notoriously peace-loving Chinese. But the Swiss lansquenets, who must essentially have been of Alpine race, once constituted one of the foremost military factors in Europe, the Swiss peasants annihilated the proudest armies of knights and the Swiss struggle for independence also shows that the Alpines by no means must necessarily always be submissive and unpatriotic subjects as Günther will have it. The Chinese to-day may be peace-loving, but the storms of the Mongols, Huns, Avars, Magyars, Turks, Bulgars, Tartars, once made the whole world tremble, and the Japanese, Turks, Bulgars, and Magyars have in recent times given proof of warlike spirit.

It would be easy to fill page after page with such contradictions characteristic of the several race theories, which must all fail because of their endeavours to confine in narrow formulæ the enormous variety of national characters. All such attempts, however, must fall short in view of the fact that each race has produced the most manifold characters and shows great mutability in historic evolution.

Referring to Ammon, Roese, and others, Günther maintains that the upper classes in all nations are much more Nordic than the masses of the peoples. Roese pretends to have found by measurements that in Dresden the tramway drivers are more Nordic than the conductors, and that the same is the case respectively with the higher and subaltern officials, the staff-officers, and the troopers,

the university professors, and the ordinary teachers, etc. In short, the higher the social stratum the more Nordic blood there is in it ! The physiognomies of the most successful moneymakers, however, and of others high in society show us that, unfortunately, most of them are very far from coming up to the ideal of the Nordic type. Besides, the Swedish anthropologist Nyström has shown that in his country the educated and higher classes have broader skulls than the uneducated and socially lower strata.

The circumstance that in many countries Nordic conquerors once in fact ruled for long periods over subdued populations of darker races makes it probable (though this can hardly be accepted as proved) that the higher classes in these countries still evince among them a greater amount of Nordic characteristics than the socially lower classes, especially where the latter continually fill up their gaps by immigrations from darker regions (e.g. from the Slav East or the Romance South of Europe). But this is an effect of the law of continuity, tending to preserve existing conditions, and of caste feeling which prevents the several social groups of a nation from intermarrying. Where, however, the broad masses of the population are predominantly Nordic, or where just the higher classes, be it through international commercial relations or through other causes, were subject to foreign infiltrations, we fail to encounter the phenomena of more Nordic features in the upper classes. The race theorists, however, again mistake traditions for racial character and conclude that the upper classes are more Nordic because the blonds are more capable and therefore have better chances to rise to leading positions ! On the other hand, however, they also assert that modern industrialism favours the lower dark races which make their way upwards through unscrupulousness and painstaking zeal while the more noble Teuton gets the worst of it in the social struggle. As a point of fact it is certainly possible, nay more, probable, that the Nordic racial traits, in countries where the upper class are really blonder than the lower ones, have a tendency to propagate at a slower rate than the other, because the well-to-do classes in the whole world are in favour of birth control, while the proletarians everywhere are prolific as their very name implies. To a very high degree this is observed in America where in the olden times, according to Benjamin Franklin, the average number of children in the families was six, while to-day the well-to-do Anglo-Saxon is content with two children. The immigrants, on the contrary, especially those from East and South Europe, are very prolific.



Here too we find ourselves face to face with social processes such as have nothing to do with race character.

Some people perhaps will doubt whether it is worth while at all submitting such theories to a critical examination. This would be our opinion but for the fatal influence these doctrines exercise on the spirit of our time. They are being proclaimed from the chairs of universities, and propagated by novels and newspaper articles ; and in a more coarse form they re-echo from the tirades of the nationalists of all races and countries. The more or less avowed gist of all these theories is, that the Nordic race is far superior to all the others, that the Teutons among the nations and the higher strata within the nations—on account of the purer Nordic stock—have a vocation to rule over the inferior racial elements.<sup>19</sup> Thus Eugen Fischer (p. 167) says : “ There can be no doubt that even in our days it is the Nordic strain in the nations which qualifies them to produce culture, makes them thinkers, inventors, artists.” Günther says to the same effect : “ The Ostic (Alpine) race has failed to produce towering geniuses ” (p. 188) . . . “ creative power in a proper sense has been denied to this race ” (p. 316) ; and that the Mediterranean race is also deficient in great, creative men. “ The heritage of creative spirit seems to-day proper to the Nordic race only ” (p. 245). The judgment of Lenz is similar (p. 419). It is the same theory as that advanced before by Lapouge, Ammon, and especially by Ludwig Woltmann. In recent times it has been proclaimed in America by Madison Grant, Charles W. Gould, and others, not without success as is proved by the activity of the Ku-Klux-Klan and the legislation on immigrants.

This theory must of necessity whip up arrogance, hatred, and jealousy among the nations to the utmost degree, and therefore its propagation would only be justified if it rested on an unshakably scientific basis. This, however, is by no means the case. There have been many great men of a far from Nordic type ; let it suffice to mention Goethe with his dark complexion, Beethoven with his Negroid traits, Michelangelo, Rousseau, Francis of Assisi. Lenz considers Goethe as a Teutonic-Western Asiatic cross-breed (p. 430), and finds this corroborated by the poet's mentality. Otto Hauser likewise judges very harshly of Goethe's mongrel nature : “ In Goethe's *Faust*,” he says, “ you will find hundreds of quite pitifully bad verses.”

The truth is that most of the great geniuses show a mixed type and thus strikingly disprove the superstition of the noxiousness

of race mixing, which Günther (p. 432) so delicately calls the "racial disgrace". But Günther himself offers in his book a great number of physiognomically interesting portraits of great men and defines Schopenhauer, Ibsen, Björnson, Luther, Fritz Reuter, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Helmholtz, Rembrandt, Beethoven and others as Nordic-Alpine crosses, Balzac, Justinus Kerner, J. Machar, Ebner-Eschenbach as purely or predominantly Alpine, yet he denies creative power to this race! In other great men he states other crosses, thus Mongolic traits in Dostoievski, Gorki, Strindberg, (one might also add Tolstoi) and, in fact, this seems plausible enough. Of course, the creative power in these men, in the mind of the race theorists, was all due to the Nordic part in them. But in the name of goodness how do they know this? And if it were true that the cultures of Greece, Rome, Italy, Spain, France, and of the Slavs were a creation of the Nordic elements in these countries, why then did not this beginning of culture take place in the original centres of the Nordics, in Scandinavia and North Germany? Why did these regions only follow in relatively late epochs in the tracks opened up by the more southern cross-bred peoples? If it was the more favourable environment, then we venture to say that the chief dogma of all race theories, namely that of the blood alone, or preponderantly, makes for the creative power of nations, seems definitely shaken.

All three of these authors also speak of the Jews and emphasize the psychic discrepancy between this people and the Teutons. Günther is most copious in this respect, but despite his striving for impartiality he falls into bad errors on account of his dependence on very turbid sources; thus when he counts as an anti-Semite the great historian Theodor Mommsen who, as is well known, characterized anti-Semitism as a "monstrous disgrace", as the "mental disposition of the mob", as a "horrid plague", etc.<sup>20</sup> If also (on the authority of Weiniger) he adduces Goethe, Kant, Herder and others as hostile to the Jews, this is only a proof of his ignorance. A glance into Riemer's *Informations on Goethe*, or into Kant's correspondence with Markus Herz would have told him better. The fact that these men occasionally dropped critical observations on Jewish peculiarities does not make them anti-Semites, any more than Goethe, Nietzsche or Schopenhauer can be called anti-German on account of some sharp criticism they uttered against the Germans. To show up in detail the many other errors of this kind seems hardly necessary.

There are, of course, at the bottom of all the aberrations of the

race theory some facts which, however, are misinterpreted. It is true that the Teutons and the Nordics in general appear in history for several thousand years as conquerors, and that they everywhere established ruling dynasties and castes. This is an incontestable fact, and on the ground of this a specific spirit of heroism and chivalry doubtlessly developed; but the same has been the case with other conquering races, for instance with the Arabs of the Middle Ages, whose chivalry notoriously had a strong influence on our own knightly culture. This is all a question of deep-rooted traditions, and not of racial dispositions. Every square-headed serf who rose to baronial power was quick in adopting all the aristocratic racial arrogance, and his children already had a high opinion of the noble qualities of their blood. All the race theories centre round the assertion that the Nordics represent the warlike, heroic, sovereign type, but the Teutonic English, Americans, Scandinavians, Dutch, are to-day anything but warlike; they are for the most part matter-of-fact people with a decidedly peaceful turn of mind. Lenz and Günther themselves point out this change in the Scandinavian psychology and try to explain this by the circumstance that the most daring elements of these peoples emigrated to America and that by this the original homes of the Nordic race were left deprived of their best Nordic stock. But then one would suppose that America must have become all the more warlike and Viking-like!

All in all: it is not true that each race, as Günther maintains, has a particular moral standard of its own, and that therefore mutual understanding is impossible. The whole of "race science" as far as it ventures to explain moral phenomena is concerned, is a mere pseudo-science whose object it is to furnish arguments to the enemies of democracy and inter-national peace.

SOME AMERICAN RACE THEORIES: LOTHROP STODDARD, MADISON  
GRANT, W. McDOUGALL

The race fad has in recent times also spread considerably in America. In particular the books of Lothrop Stoddard and of Madison Grant have made a great stir. Madison Grant in the preface to his work *The Passing of the Great Race* even boasts that it was under the influence of his book that Congress passed the new Immigration Bill, the object of which is to bar undesirable races and peoples from the U.S.A. The ideas Madison puts forward



are fundamentally the same as those sufficiently well known from German race literature. He gives us hardly a single new thought of any importance.

Grant's fundamental ideas may be compressed into a few sentences. The difference between high and low races is not to be bridged over. Highest among all stands the Nordic race. The mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the lower type. The cross between a white man and a Negro is a Negro, the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu, the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew. Only when the parent races are not too far apart from one another may the offspring sometimes stand between genius and madness. Humanity, democracy, pacifism, social reforms, "indiscriminate efforts to preserve babies," and so forth, are only apt to lead to an excessive increase of the lower classes (which are also racially inferior) to the great detriment of the racially superior strata of society and of culture in general. All historic catastrophes had their first causes in racial deterioration through crosses of higher with lower races, and in the elimination of the higher types consequent upon this.

Wherever fair types are met with in a population they betray the existence of a Nordic blood strain in the respective nation: but the Nordic type also includes brown hair and eyes, a statement which evidently turns out to be very serviceable, for it gives one a handle to claim for the Nordic race the geniuses and great men who otherwise would not fit into the formula of "blondness and blue-eyedness". But Grant at least abstains from going to such lengths as do certain of the German race dogmatists, who proclaim the Nordic race to be the only one that ever developed cultures; for he allows the Alpine and Mediterranean races to have in them strong cultural potentialities. The ancient classic culture he sees mainly as a product of the Mediterranean race. In another passage of his book, however, he explains the decline of Rome as an effect of the elimination of the old aristocratic families of Nordic stock and of the rank breeding with Mediterranean and Eastern slaves (the Mediterraneans in fact bear close relations to the populations of Western Asia, as Grant himself admits). Thus, according to Grant, the very same Mediterraneans who gave life to classical culture were at the same time its destroyers! Such and similar inconsistencies occur abundantly in Grant's book. He believes that the English, like the ancient Hellenes and Romans, have in their blood equal portions of Nordic and Mediterranean strains.

This does not seem to us a proof that race mixing produces inferiority.

Grant's political inclinations are against Ireland, although he himself justly says that the Irish, no less than the English, are predominantly of Nordic stock. From this he deduces that the Irish are not entitled to independent national existence on the ground of race ; and as to religion, he says, that it is now happily obsolete as a political basis in communities well advanced in culture. In another place, however, he advances the opinion that the national revivals of the small nations (he names Bohemia, Bulgaria, Poland, Serbia, Ireland, and Egypt) are associated with the resurgence of the lower races at the expense of the Nordics. While an independent Ireland and Bohemia is not to his taste he shows great sympathies for the Hungarians, whose racial composition seems to us rather questionable and mixed. If the Irish and the Slavs, who both admittedly have in them considerable Nordic blood strains, are hopelessly inferior, how does this fit with the theory that race means everything and that Nordic elements at all times and in all countries created the highest culture ? Moreover, Grant himself admits that in certain parts of America, especially in some out-of-the-way mountain districts and in the Middle East, there live populations whose physical type is purely Nordic but who have degenerated morally to such an extent as to contribute rather more than their share to the train robbers, horse thieves, and evil-doers in general.

The author has a very poor opinion also of the French Canadians, whom he classes among the Alpines and whom, as regards cultural value, he likens to the Negroes of the South, much the worst he could have said of a population. I remember, however, having read a very serious study (the name of its author has slipped my memory) in which the French Canadians from their family names, language, customs, etc., are proved to have come mainly from Normandy so that their Nordic origin seems rather well ascertained.

The historical views Madison Grant presents to his readers are for the most part mere phantasmagoria. In Gaul the Romans modified the race by killing a much larger proportion of the Nordic fighting classes than of the more submissive Alpines and Mediterraneans. This Grant sees corroborated by the fact that a few centuries later the Teutonic invaders encountered no determined opposition from the inhabitants when they entered and occupied the land. He seems to be ignorant of the circumstance that the Teutonic invasion had been invited by the Gallic national party. In subsequent history the French evinced so much warlike spirit

that it certainly cannot all be attributed to the numerically weak Franks. The religious persecutions and wars in Northern Italy, in France, Germany, and in the Low Countries, resulted in the elimination of brains and ability, that is to say, of the Nordic strata of the populations, and yet soon after this epoch all these countries attained their highest cultural florescence and display of power!

Grant believes that Thebes was the most Nordic among the Hellenic states. The ancient Greeks themselves were not of this opinion, for they considered the Thebans as descendants of the Phœnicians. That the Greeks described their gods as blond is not true as a general rule; and equally untrue is the statement that "such quasi-authentic traditions as we have of Christ strongly suggest his Nordic, possibly Greek, physical and moral attributes". In support of this only the forged letter of Lentulus could be adduced, while Josephus describes Jesus as repulsively ugly, medium-sized, bandy-legged, long-nosed, his eyebrows grown together, and scanty hair on his head. (Cf. the original text of the *Jewish War*, ii, 9, 3, recently discovered in an Old Slav translation.) Further, some of the patristic writers described Jesus as ugly of aspect. All this, of course, is very doubtful and has no demonstrative force whatever. The only thing that is decisive is the close, inseparable and exclusive connexion of the teachings of Christ with the later period of Jewish religious and moral development.

In all wars, Grant says, the Nordics constituted the chief bulk of the fighting forces on both sides and therefore killed each other. As an example he adduces the Swiss mercenaries. These, however, are distinctly described by Machiavelli as low-statured, dirty, and ugly, in strict contradistinction to the fair figures of the Germans (cf. Machiavelli, *Ritratti dele cose dell'Alamagna*), so that we can hardly assume them to have been very Nordic.

Grant's attitude to Germany is especially characteristic. The fact that he is indebted to the German race fanatics for almost all of his race wisdom, and the other fact that considerable Nordic blood strains cannot be disputed to the German people, does not prevent him from being anti-German, as every true American nationalist naturally must be. He speaks slightly of the moral and intellectual qualities of the Germans who fought in the U.S. armies in the Civil War. The present-day Germans he defames—absolutely in the style of the war-lies propaganda—for their "ghastly rarity of chivalry and generosity towards women and of



knightly protection and courtesy towards prisoners or wounded", and he explains this through the annihilation of the gentle classes of Nordic blood during the Thirty Years' War. To abandon to the Germans and Austrians, he says, the exclusive right to the name Teuton would be to acquiesce in one of their most grandiose pretensions. With America in the War, the greater part of the Nordics of the world were fighting against Germany.

This passage has given rise to a footnote in the German edition in which the publisher (!) blames Teutonic North America for having, at the behest of international Judaism, struck down, betrayed, violated, and dishonoured Germany, the only country of the world which was not yet entirely under Jewish rule.

Thus the American votaries of Madison Grant are told by the publisher Lehmann that they acted as unconscious instruments in the hands of the Jews, and that in their behaviour towards Germany they were far from displaying what is understood to be Nordic honour and uprightness.

Lothrop Stoddard, too, has had a great success among American race theorists. We review here only his last book, *Racial Realities in Europe*.<sup>21</sup> Stoddard is the chief importer of the Nordic theory ("made in Germany") to America. It is an ironical fact, however, that he uses the German race theory against its originators. Like Mr. Grant he steals the clothes of German race theorists, alleging that these clothes did not rightfully belong to them. For he thinks that the Germans have ceased to be predominantly Nordics, as he believes the English and Americans still to be. The passive, obedient, unintelligent, ignoble "Alpine" race has gradually supplanted the noble "Nordic" one, particularly in consequence of wars which have always done most to destroy the warlike Nordics. Italy and Spain, too, have almost lost their Nordic element. We do not know whether all these countries are as un-Nordic as Stoddard thinks and whether America is really much more Nordic than Germany, but we do know that these racially "inferior" countries have made a contribution to the thought, literature, art, music, science, and invention of the world which may perhaps compare not unfavourably with that of the 100 per cent Nordic part of America. Perhaps Stoddard will object that America is too young to be compared with France or Germany. Why then was not almost purely Nordic Scandinavia the pioneer of European culture? Why was France, one of the racially most composite countries, for centuries the great leader of modern civilization?

Like Madison Grant, Stoddard asserts that the Thirty Years'

War was fatal to the Nordics in Germany and "alpinized" the country. Unfortunately he did not notice that a hundred years after the close of this war the greatest period of German genius began, which also marked one of the most glorious epochs in the history of the human mind. Goethe and Beethoven appeared—both unmistakably belonging to that Alpine race which according to Stoddard is "least gifted" and "has contributed little that is truly great to politics, art, or ideas".

That the "gentleman" became "almost extinct" in Germany is also traced back to the Thirty Years' War and the uprooting of the Nordics. "The tactlessness and lack of innate courtesy characteristic of modern Germans seems mainly due to this scarcity of 'gentle' blood." However, the author finds that Northern Germany and the higher classes there still contain a good deal of Nordic blood. We venture to question whether the typical "tactlessness and lack of innate courtesy" is not a product of that very Prussian "Junker" caste which is one of the most Nordic looking classes in the world? The more Alpine Southern Germans and Austrians are certainly a much "gentler" type and can hardly be made responsible for Prussian aggressiveness.

There are many further astounding statements. As Stoddard says, the Alpine is best described as a peasant and the lack of Alpine blood explains why there are no such peasant masses in Scandinavia or in the British Isles, as in France or Germany. Wonderful, indeed. We have always thought that the Scandinavian countries had one of the strongest peasantries in the world, and we believe to have read in history that England also once had a peasantry. In any case Nordic America has its farmers who seem to be something like a peasantry.

L. Stoddard does not mix up his racialism with the cult of war and aggressiveness, as so many other followers of race theories do. He says: "Unhappily, this new science was, in Germany, quickly perverted into a weapon of jingo propaganda. A powerful group of national imperialists, headed by popular writers like H. S. Chamberlain, seized upon biology and prostituted it to their own ends." He himself mocks the Pan-German and their assertion that the Germans are pure Nordics, but his own theories are not less apt to foster a very dangerous spirit of overwhelming race pride.

Great importance has also been ascribed to race by William McDougall, the well-known American psychologist.<sup>22</sup> His general view is expressed in the following words: "I recognized that differences of innate qualities between races, at any rate between

allied subraces, are not great, and that they can be, and generally are, almost completely over-ridden and obscured in each individual by the moulding power of the social environment in which he grows up; but I urged that these racial qualities are very persistent, and that they exert a slight but constant pressure or bias upon the development of all that constitutes social environment, upon the forms of institutions, customs, traditions, and beliefs of every kind, so that the effect of such slight but constant bias accumulates from generation to generation, and in the long run exerts an immense influence."

McDougall assumes that races and racial instincts have been formed in prehistoric periods through selection by climatic and social conditions. He specially emphasizes the contrast between the English and the French mind—English individualism and self-reliance and French sociability and herd instincts. All the theories put forward by Buckle, Boutmy, Maine, and others, ascribing the formation of the English or French character to historical events and institutions, seem futile. The national spirit is not the result of history but its moving principle. The author accepts the theories of Demolins and Tourville<sup>23</sup> concerning the formation of the Nordic spirit of independence, enterprise, and initiative, and of the opposite mental type of the short dark round-heads who formed the inferior classes among the Celts. Both types are explained by the alleged influence of environment and mode of life through very long prehistoric periods, but McDougall disagrees with Demolins as regards the question of inheritance of acquired habits. According to McDougall, only the selection of the individuals best adapted to the particular type of life can explain the formation of a type. The author passes a very unfavourable judgment on mixing "widely different stocks" and says: "The soul of the crossbred is, it would seem, apt to be the scene of perpetual conflict of inharmonious tendencies." (The same argument was used by the Roman patricians against the demand to allow mixture with Roman plebians.) McDougall, of course, thinks that his arguments against race-blending abundantly justify the prohibition of the immigration of "inferior" races.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

<sup>1</sup> Vide Comte de Gobineau, *Essay sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, 2 vols., 1853-5. The best and most exhaustive work on Gobineau is *Le comte de Gobineau et l'Aryanisme historique*, Paris, 1903, by Ernest Seillière. Further, Fritz Friedrich, *Studien über Gobineau*, Leipzig, 1906, and L. Schemann, *Gobineaus Rassenwerk*, 1910, are very instructive.

<sup>2</sup> In the first edition of this book there is also a critical review of Driesman's race theories (*Das Keltentum in der europäischen Blutmischung*, 1900; *die Wahlverwandtschaften der deutschen Blutmischung*, 1901; *Rasse und Milieu*, 1902), and of works by other authors.

<sup>3</sup> First published in the *Journal of Political Economy*, edited by the University of Chicago, 1897-8, pp. 54 seq., later in Lapouge, *Race et milieu social*, 1909; see also Manouvrier, "L'indice céphalique et la pseudo-sociologie," *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1899, pp. 233, 280.

<sup>4</sup> O. Ammon, *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen*, 2nd edition, 1896; further *Die natürliche Auslese beim Menschen*, 1893, and others.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Zentralblatt für Anthropologie* there is an essay by Kohlbrugge, Utrecht, opposing Ammon's assertion regarding the harmful effect of city life. Among other things, the writer calls attention to the French refugees who came to Germany more than 200 years ago and settled in the towns, whose descendants have increased considerably and who have there filled the highest offices. It is the same with regard to the old Dutch immigrants in the United States. In any case, the doctrine of migration to the cities and its consequences on race, Ammon took from Hansen's *Die Drei Bevölkerungsstufen*, 1899. Robert Kuczynski in his *Der Zug in die Stadt* gives trustworthy statistics in contradiction of Hansen's theories.

<sup>6</sup> Carl Jentsch, *Sozialauslese, Kritische Glossen*, 1898; especially the third and forth essay; cf. also Heinrich Herkner, *Die Arbeiterfrage*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1897, chapter xix, pp. 44 et seq.

<sup>7</sup> O. Ammon, *Zur Anthropologie der Badener*, Jena, Gustav Fischer, 1899.

<sup>8</sup> Ladislaus Gumpowicz, "Anthropologie und natürliche Auslese," *Politisch. anthropologische Revue*, 1902, pp. 105 et seq.

<sup>9</sup> Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2 volumes (numerous editions) quoted from the second unaltered edition; see also Ernest Seillière, *H. S. Chamberlain, le plus récent philosophe du pangermanisme mystique*, 1917.

<sup>10</sup> "Race elevates a man, it lends him extraordinary, I might say, supernatural powers, it distinguishes him to a high degree from an individual whose make up is a chaotic mixture of all races."

<sup>11</sup> Chamberlain says: "The common English horse and the Arabian horse (unquestionably originally a mongrel breed) were physiologically also very different and yet their cross-breedings have in the course of time produced the most uniform and most noble breed of animals in the world, the English full-blood."

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Dr. J. M. Judt, *Die Juden als Rasse*, 1903, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> A mongrel dog, according to Chamberlain, is "morally always a ragamuffin".

<sup>14</sup> Documentary evidence of this is given in *Der Gesellschaft*, 1900, p. 357.

<sup>15</sup> E. Baur, E. Fischer, F. Lenz, *Menschliche Erblichkeitslehre*, 2 vols., 2nd edition, 1924; E. Fischer, "Rassenlehre," in *Anthropologie*, ed. by Schwalbe and Fischer, 1923; Hans Günther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, 1922 (and later editions).

<sup>16</sup> See statistics given by E. Hurwicz, *Die Seelen der Völker*, p. 124.

<sup>17</sup> For further particulars see Schnapper-Arndt, *Sozialstatistik*, pp. 493, 506, 531 (prostitution).

<sup>18</sup> Vide Rudolf Haym, *Die romantische Schule*, 4th ed., 1920, p. 867.

<sup>19</sup> Many investigations were also made without regard to race theory tendencies in order to prove by experiment the innate greater talents of the higher classes. O. Karstädt in the *Deutsche Schule*, 1917, vols. viii and ix, reports regarding twenty such investigations and shows that they led to no results.

<sup>20</sup> Mommsen's criticism is given by Hermann Bahr in his *Der Antisemitismus*, 1894, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup> Lothrop Stoddard, *Racial Realities in Europe* (London, 1925).

<sup>22</sup> W. McDougall, *The Group Mind*, 1921.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Henri de Tourville, *Histoire de formation particulariste and L'origine des grands peuples origines*.

## CHAPTER IX

### RELIGIOUS LIFE AMONG THE ARYANS AND SEMITES

GERMAN race theorists usually lay great stress on the contrast between Aryans and Semites as regards spiritual life, particularly religion, and it seems necessary therefore to enter here upon a more detailed examination of their statements. They mostly regard the ancient Hindus as representative of the Aryan group of peoples and the Jews as typical of the Semite mentality. The one view is as incongruous as the other, for in both cases the peoples concerned are racially of a markedly mixed character and it would be impossible to determine which of their religious conceptions are to be traced to Aryan, and which to Semitic sources.

If, for brevity, we disregard the now obsolete hypotheses of Renan and some earlier theorists we again find ourselves confronted by Chamberlain. He sees the main contrast between Aryan and Semite mentality in their religious differences.<sup>1</sup> For the Indo-Aryan religion is an *inner* experience drawn from the depths of the soul; it is independent of chronology and historical events, anti-rationalist and mystical; its forms are pure and noble. Aryan religiosity is free from worship of images, strict retaliation, outward commandments, ritual formalism, and a privileged priest caste. The essence of Aryan religiosity lies within the heart, it is love of God, aspiration after religious liberty, and the most absolute tolerance. Now according to Chamberlain, the Jews, whom he himself does not hold as pure Semites but as an ill-assorted crossing of races, evince the strict opposite of the Aryan spirit, namely selfishness, materialism, fanaticism, intolerance, narrowmindedness, formalism, precisianism, barren ritualism. Their religion is but the dread of a mighty idol holding out to its worshippers material enjoyments and the rule over other peoples as a recompense for submissiveness. Characteristic of the Jews is their "absolute ignorance and barbarism and the fact that they in no one province of human knowledge or in creative activity have been in any way productive" (p. 276). Moreover, Chamberlain reproaches the Jews very violently for their total lack of the sense of right, freedom, and patriotism, and attributes this to innate racial tendencies.



Chamberlain's theories are a very striking example of the general shortcomings we find in all race theories, namely, the utter disregard of all social relations and the lack of understanding of historical evolution.

The comparative history of religions has heaped evidence upon evidence for the fact that among all races religious life in its beginnings showed much the same character.<sup>2</sup> The subsequent diverging evolutions are due to climatic, geographical, and above all to social and political, factors, and to the influence of great individuals. It is clear that the extreme disparity of conditions of life in India as contrasted to those in Palestine alone must have sufficed to produce certain impulses and retardations. In India an indescribable luxuriance of vegetation, an exuberant generative power of nature, ease and carelessness of the material existence, and an extremely enervating climate, all factors promoting the wildest growth of imagination and speculation, ardent sensuality and brooding asceticism.<sup>3</sup> In Palestine strong contrasts prevailed within a narrow space of land, "the country was not of a spontaneous fertility, the desert, when not kept in check, corroded the fertile land."<sup>4</sup> One understands how in such a country the thought could arise: "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread!" and truly this belief worked wonders there. A much stronger influence, however, than the immediate effect of the climate must have been the slower social and political influences.

In drawing a comparison one main difference seems especially significant, namely, the most prominent Semitic peoples, the Babylonians, Assyrians, Israelites, and Arabs, to whom may be added the Egyptians also, on the ground of linguistic and cultural affinities, developed from common roots and despite many aberrations a much stronger tendency towards ethical monotheism than most of the Aryans (Indians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Teutons, etc.), who instead of this evolved a sometimes quite unethical but æsthetically attractive polytheism. How can this be explained?

#### SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS AMONG ARYANS AND SEMITES

A comparison between so highly differentiated peoples can only be made with all due reservations. On both sides we find the most manifold phenomena which, however, under like conditions of time and place are essentially identical. In the course of evolution we may discern two chief types: a settled life and agriculture with the Semites, Egyptians, and Iranians who all dwelt in the vast,

fertile plains and table-lands, together with a vigorous imperialistic monarchism based on a highly developed priesthood, a bureaucracy and an army holding the aristocracy in check and careful of the welfare of the masses; most Aryan peoples, on the contrary, continued for a much longer period in a state of nomadic herdsman; they adopted a settled life far later, and monarchism though not lacking with them, mostly succumbed to the might of a warlike aristocratic caste which looked down with disdain upon the subdued common tributary people.

The great jurist Rudolf von Ihering has drawn the parallel a little wider.<sup>5</sup> He says: "The Aryan for many thousand years found an easy living as a nomad, while the Semite in the sweat of his brow tilled the ground; the one had a life without work, the other heavy toil." The hard-working tiller, who must exert his brain in the struggle with the soil, lacks leisure for the fanciful play of imagination, his matter-of-fact mind discards unavailing speculation. In his eyes the gambling passion of the old Indian appears immoral, the saying "lightly won, lightly gone" did not apply to him: what he wanted was to keep what he had hardly gained. These consequences of the physical conditions of a country are demonstrated by Ihering in the instances of Babylon and India. The different ways of settling down had the most far-reaching results on further development; the ground-tilling Semite, unprotected against inroads in his flat unwooded plain, was led to build towns and to construct stone houses for his own defence. But that which in the beginning had been devised for the "mere sake of life", soon produces, as Aristotle so ingeniously expresses it, the desire for "good life". The fortified city, productive of a higher civilization, first arose on Semite land, and this was the "decisive turning point in the life of the ancient peoples"; only then did the state aggregate around it. The Aryan, on the contrary, being protected by mountains for a longer time stuck to his wooden house and the single settlement; here lies, according to Ihering, the chief reason for his tardy political development and also for the peculiar trend in his social and spiritual evolution. It is the stone house and the city which bind a people to the soil and force them to settle for good and all; the lightly-built wood house cannot do this, neither can the plough.

#### MONOTHEISM AND POLYTHEISM

Monotheist tendencies are found in a vague form also among a great many primitive peoples; a higher differentiation of deities, indeed,

seems an effect of social and professional differentiation, and therefore is not met with in the initial stage of civilization. Obviously there can be no god of smiths or muse of astronomy where these branches of human activity have not yet developed. In the form of philosophical speculations, furthermore, we meet monotheistic ideas among peoples whose spiritual development otherwise has taken a different course ; but there they remain restricted to the narrow circles of the highly learned or they form the esoteric doctrine of mystagogues. In a truly all comprehensive way, especially as regards moral life, monotheism only developed on the ground of a centralized monarchy.<sup>6</sup> In the monarchies of Western Asia and Egypt theological systems developed on strict monarchic principles—in which the chief god (mostly the tribal god of a prevailing dynasty) dominated over the other deities just in the same way as on earth the suzerain lord ruled over his vassals and officials. That racial instincts had but little to do with this becomes evident from the fact that the Aryan Iranians, the nearest kinsmen to the ancient Hindus, developed a strong militarist monarchy, and in their religious system came very near monotheism.

On the other hand, the Olympus of the Hellenes and of the ancient Indians, where all the gods held almost the same rank and spent their time in knightly sports, feuds, love intrigues, etc., reflects exactly the life and practices of the great feudal lords in Greece and India. Each aristocratic dynasty made its mythical founder a god or at least made him spring from the illegitimate love of some god with an earthly woman.

Much as Homer's gay Olympus is superior in poetical attraction to the stern monotheism of the Semites, it is yet greatly inferior to it as regards its ethical substance, in the same measure indeed as monarchy as a safeguard of peace and order is superior to oligarchy. Monarchies in the olden times rested mainly on the people, held in submission by the priests ; social differences vanished completely before the face of the king of kings. The maxim of the small feudal lords was "might is right", and the low-born had no rights with them. The powerful Oriental kings, on the contrary, maintained peace with a strong hand, and even the low-born could claim his right before the royal courts of law. The incidental despotic humours of a sovereign king could never be as bad as the daily tyrannies of many small lords. Thus also the supreme gods of the Semites, Egyptians, and Persians were zealous for law and order and held their people in awe, though in the beginning mainly through fear and not without occasional



outbursts of passion and vindictiveness. A well organized hierarchy and bureaucracy were powerful instruments for keeping discipline both politically and morally and for protecting the socially weak, and this in the end led to an ethical refinement of the concept of the deity.<sup>7</sup>

The Greek gods, on the contrary, were pretty outrageous, selfish, and exceedingly immoral fellows. They cheated each other, committed adultery, seduction, violence, fornication, swore false oaths, and acted purely on selfish motives and whims. Such at least was the aristocratic conception of mighty influence which was embodied in the Homeric poems and which had its effect on all subsequent generations, even to recent times. It was in vain that moralists raised an outcry against Homer, and that conceptions of a morally higher order were propagated by the esoteric doctrines and cults of the Orphean and Pythagorean sects, or in the peasant religion voiced by Hesiod.<sup>8</sup> The great tragic poets, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, reveal to us how moral conscience vainly wrestles with mythology. Precisely, the noble heroes, the benefactors of humanity, Œdipus, Heracles, Prometheus, are cruelly persecuted and tortured by the gods from sheer envy and vindictiveness, so that one often gets the impression that the Greek gods were wicked demons who rejoiced in the misery of the good. That such religious conceptions could not but wield a baleful influence on the public and private morality of the Hellenes and contribute to their downfall in bloody self-destruction seems obvious.

#### SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL

Decisive, above all, for the moral education of mankind became the people of Israel. Also in Israel agriculture prevailed at an early period over the original nomadism which, however, still continued for a long time in the desert regions of the country.<sup>9</sup> The nomadic Bedouin became the mortal foe of the Israelites; an eternal feud raged between Jehovah and Amalek. The circumstance that in Israel a free, self-conscious class of peasant proprietors was preserved, especially in the mountains, was important for further development; in Babylonia and Egypt at an early period the free peasants succumbed partly to feudal, partly to royal oppression. In Israel also, it is true, monarchical rule prevailed in the end, but only within restricted limits.<sup>10</sup> Ancient Israel was essentially a "league of free peasants" (Max Weber), and hence the democratic and social tendency of the Old Testament which made so striking an impression on the puritan republicans

of the seventeenth century and thereby contributed much to the formation of modern democracy. Even as late as in the times of the prophets no other ideal was set up than this, "every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (I *Kings* iv, 25); often Saul himself even when king ploughed the field with his "yoke of oxen" (I *Samuel* xi, 5), and the sons of princes led the cattle of their fathers to pasture.<sup>11</sup> The form of social organization was tribalism, the individual existed only as a member of his tribe in the midst of his family and was deeply rooted in the soil. The social division of labour did not as yet exist, no trace of commerce or trade is recognizable. War, however, though not for high aims, but merely from the common motives of all primitive peoples, i.e. robbery and blood-revenge, played a great rôle in the olden times. The name "Israel" itself is a war-cry and signifies literally "God combateth". The oldest literary monument of Israel, the song of Deborah and Barak (*Judges* v), a war song of great power, describes how Jehovah himself battles from the heavens for His people. In other fragments of heroic legends contained in the Bible we are told of "Shamgar, the son of Anath, who slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox goad" (*Judges* iii, 31), of Jephtha, "a mighty man of valour," of Gideon, and especially also of battles with giants (cf. the book of heroes, II *Samuel* xxiii, where thirty-seven heroes are enumerated, I *Chronicles* xxi, 4-8, the legend of Goliath, I *Samuel* xvii). Above all, however, we find the spirit of those times reflected in the brightly related story of Samson, a quite worldly hero, full of life and humour.<sup>12</sup>

Thus we see that the people of Israel in no way diverged from other peoples at a like stage of development. It was a sequence of political events that led Israel out of its darkness and kindled the light that was destined to shine all over the world. Palestine formed the bridge between the culturally highly developed empires of Western Asia and Egypt. This on the one hand gave Israel rich impulses, both economical and cultural, from either side, in the same way as Switzerland owes her high standard of development to her position between France, Germany, and Italy. On the other hand, however, this small people was drawn into the secular struggle between the neighbouring great powers, it lost its national independence and was torn away from its native soil: but just this latter circumstance deepened the moral strain in the people for the good of all the ages to come. Ethical monotheism, the emphasis on sanctity of mind, purification through suffering, charity towards the poor and miserable, love of God and neighbour, all these were the fruits of that hard school.

## RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EVOLUTION OF ISRAEL

Originally there was no question of monotheism in Israel. Jehovah tolerated other gods by his side and his power was restricted to the confines of Israel. His character corresponds in every way with the notions one might form of a strong and popular national king. Very powerful, though not omnipotent, very wise and just as a rule, though not perfect and at times irascible and vindictive, He kept strict order in Israel by exterminating, according to the lawful custom of the time, the evil-doer and all his kith and kin. The moral notions of Israel in pre-prophetic times kept within the bounds of national custom, and are very similar to those of all ancient peoples.<sup>13</sup>

Justice is the one outstanding trait of old Israelitic morals. It is most characteristic that the Scriptures more than once not only condemn judicial favouritism in regard to the rich and mighty, but twice also warn the judge not to "countenance a poor man in his cause" (*Exodus* xxiii, 3, *Leviticus* xix, 15). The apparent necessity of giving such admonitions is evidence of the social spirit in jurisdiction which through its very exaggeration might offend against rigid justice.

Another remarkable trait in the life of the Hebrew people even in those remote times was devout family attachment. Judah preferred to remain himself a slave in Egypt rather than see his father grieved for the loss of Benjamin. Polygamy was not frequent, the position of the woman was alleviated through custom. The great number of "wise women" of whom the Bible tells us, such as Deborah, Miriam, Hulda, Abigail, are a proof of the high esteem in which women were held.<sup>14</sup> Adultery and sodomy were severely punished, though intercourse with harlots was not forbidden to man. The treatment of slaves was not hard, and the national law even prescribed that they should be well treated. Peaceableness towards their own people went hand in hand with dire cruelty to the enemy, though also in this respect the primitive habits of inhumanity soon begin to soften down. Hospitality, harmless enjoyment of life, love of wine and music are some of the external traits of the picture of Hebrew life the older parts of the Bible present to us. The nature of man is still conceived as essentially good.

The way which led to the teachings of Christ is shown by the prophets, who were preachers of penitence, political idealists, religious enthusiasts, and sometimes demagogues. Their prophecies were no



more of a miraculous kind than are the predictions of keen-sighted men in the public life of our day ; they even disclaimed miracle-working. The earlier prophets may be compared with the dervishes ; they formed orders or schools and on account of their ecstatic ways they were viewed by the people with awe and reverence. The later prophets, however, no longer made use of ecstasy provoked by artificial means, and prophetic visions became a matter of secondary importance with them as against their spiritual emotions and speculations on the aims of God and the future destinies of their people. What the prophets really were in the essence of their being becomes clear from the words of Jeremiah : " O Lord, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived. Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed. I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. . . . Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay."

The prophets chastise, with the passion of love, the iniquities of the people, which must bring on the revenge of Jehovah ; they lament the lack of true godliness, the moral depravation and frivolity ; with bold frankness they stand up against the rich and mighty who sweat and oppress the poor, and advocate the cause of the widows, orphans, and strangers. The preposterous diplomacy of the kings, their absurd confidence in the help of Egypt against Assyria, and the intrigues of the false prophets are also the subject of the prophetic sermons which already at that time were written down and spread among the people. And when the inevitable catastrophe had come, when a large part of the people (the most influential elements among them) had been marched off into the exile of Babel, they made the best of the authority they had won with the people through the fulfilled prediction for renewedly and emphatically preaching penitence, for consoling the dejected by the promise of future glory, for exalting the conception of God and life to a higher standard. Here the foundations of Christianity were formed. Stade says : " In this movement are rooted ultimately the most precious goods humanity possesses."

Exile, it is true, was no captivity but rather a sort of forced domicile. Nevertheless, considering the attachment of the ancients to their native soil, we can understand the bitterness that filled the hearts of Israel in their constant yearning for Zion : " If I forget thee, O Jerusalem," sings *Psalms* cxxxvii, " let my right hand forget

her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." "As a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place" (*Proverbs* xxvii, 8). The gloating scoffing of the enemy could not but nettle the humiliated. Revenge was the first, the most natural thought, which was expressed in forms of repulsive ferocity. The fall of the loathed enemy, the imminent glorification of Israel was depicted with glowing imagination. The most important consequence of the exile, however, was the intensification of the adherence to the national god who alone had the power of redressing the present calamity. This stout adherence to the national worship was facilitated by the circumstance that in Babylonia the captive Jews were colonized in whole tribes together, so that the individual was not isolated from the conservative influence of tribal surroundings. This also made it possible for the Jews to unite and segregate from the "gentile"; only then did the distinguishing mark of circumcision and the holding of the Sabbath holy become obligatory. The detachment of the people from the soil of Palestine was also of great consequence, for the reason that on the one hand all the several minor local deities dwelling in woods, fountains, trees, and rocks fell into oblivion, while the highest god Jehovah, on the other hand, was detached from the country. If he could protect his people in their exile also, if he could lead them back and exalt them, his might must indeed have reached beyond the boundaries of Palestine. If he could use the might of the Gentiles for the purpose of punishing his own sinful people, then he must stand above the gods of the Gentiles, or even perhaps he was the only God. Thus for the development of monotheism the exile became of decisive importance. Chamberlain's claim that the Jews borrowed all their valuable religious and ethical ideals from other peoples is nonsense. But nevertheless the contact with the more advanced Babylonian culture and the broader horizon must have given strong impulses to Jewish thought.

Thus the most important educational outcome of the captivity was the birth of ethical monotheism, the conception that Israel by the sum of their transgressions had provoked the punishment of God, the conviction that God, however, was by no means desirous of inflicting the punishment of death but only wished for their redemption. He purified Israel as one purifies silver by fire, for God is merciful and full of loving kindness. The means, however, to regain his love consists in self-sanctification which sometimes

was conceived as the external abstinence from the impure and forbidden, and sometimes was regarded as an inner transformation to obtain which both the sincere aspiration of man and the grace of God were necessary. This was exactly the teaching of the spiritually greatest prophets. The former relations of compact between Jehovah and Israel, and the collective responsibility of the entire people, was now replaced by the personal relations of the individual to God. Now every man was responsible for his own sins. The conception of immortality, it is true, was wanting. Neither Heaven nor Hell are distinctly recognizable in any period of the Old Testament belief, the great ideal of a coming earthly empire entirely engrossed the prophets, whether in the exclusively national form of *Ezekiel* or in the universalistic one of *Deutero-Isaiah*. Already at that time, moreover, the consciousness of moral superiority over the Gentiles made itself known, together with a remarkable zeal for proselytizing.

The subsequent political destiny of the Jews is well known: the return of the Jews in Cyrus's reign, the national religious reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, the attempt towards theocracy, the victory of strict formalism. That the Messiah failed to appear was the cause of sore disappointment; ever and again the time of his advent was postponed, but Hellenism prevailed and decomposed the old belief. But for the cruel persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes, which brought about a zealous return to the ancient faith, the Jews would have so assimilated to the Greeks as to have left hardly a trace. The heroic deeds of the Maccabees, the embittered party strifes under the Asmoneans, the advent of the Romans, and lastly the bloody but grand Herod heralded a new epoch of world history. During all this time Israel was a plaything in the hands of the big powers, and there was no end to bloodshed. That the Jews of those days did not fall back into a state of barbarism is due to the heritage of the prophets and to the hard school of the captivity. The manner in which religious consciousness in these several periods reacted upon such manifold impressions was, of course, much varied. It is one of Chamberlain's greatest errors that he represents the entire post-exilic Judaism as a petrified theocracy submerged in narrow formalism.<sup>15</sup> This is but a consequence of his postulate of antagonism between Judaism and Christianity. The real truth is that the spirit of the prophets never died beneath the muffling folds of the stern law. There are manifold gradations from the deep burning faith of the *Psalms* to the mild philosophy of *Ecclesiasticus*, from the fanatical narrow-mindedness of the *Book*



of *Esther* to the universalistic spirit and resignation of *Job* and the pessimism and scepticism of *Ecclesiastes*. The exterioration of religion against which Christ rose had not been a permanent state since Ezra's days, as Chamberlain would lead us to think, but it was a consequence of the immense influence which the former unimportant orthodoxy gained owing to the religious persecutions. The roots of Christianity may easily be found in the dispositions of mind which dictated the numerous post-exile and pre-Christian writings. Above all, however, one must not ignore the Jewish-Hellenistic literature so completely as Chamberlain does. Though we take it for granted that the Greek influence on Christ himself was but insignificant, yet we must not forget that those fragments of the vast literature of the Jewish Diaspora contain valuable elements for the appreciation of the under-currents of Jewish life which official Judaism ignores, for example Essenism, as also for the understanding of the singular conception and symbolic interpretation of the old belief found in Jewish authorities such as Philo. That Chamberlain ignores entirely these important links between the Old and the New Testament, these immediate predecessors of the Christian spirit, as appears from his judgment on Philo, debars him from understanding the rise of Christianity.

The sufferings under captivity had engendered in Jewish minds, attached, as they were, so tenaciously to the idea of divine justice, a belief in a future kingdom, which like a mirage bore up the wanderer through the desert of centuries of sorrow and disappointment. The ordinary mind must have sought in this nothing but a worldly exaltation of Israel, and for this we find an example in the Anonymus of *Isaiah* (iv, 50). The noble souls, however, dreamed of a kingdom of eternal peace and happiness spreading over all nations. This dream remained unforgotten, it filled the hearts all the more as the yearning for peace strove stronger within them.

"Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation," says *Micah* (iv, 3 et seq.), "eternal peace shall reign over all." "All people will walk everyone in the name of his god and Israel in the name of the Lord for ever and ever. They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. Even wild animals shall become peace-loving and gentle.<sup>16</sup> The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. Lions shall eat straw like the oxen. A babe will play with snakes and place its hand in the mouth of the basilisk. Nowhere on mountain of God shall there be harm

and spoliation for the land is full of the knowledge of the Lord as if covered by the waters of the sea. All peoples that dwell together in peace shall be blessed by God and he shall proclaim: 'Blessed art thou, O Egypt, my people and thou Assyria, my handwork, and thou Israel, my inheritors.' "

The like yearning for peace is expressed in the hope that "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven" (*Psalm lxxxv*, 10, 11).

The fundamental principle of Jewish ethics—though not its highest culmination—is the idea of peace and justice born out of the yearning desire of a soul which feels itself denied these essentials. How strongly this fundamental idea appealed to the minds through centuries is seen in the memorable passage of the *Talmud* where it is said that "even though Israel indulge in idol-worship (one of the three death-meriting abominations, idol-worship, bloodshed, and incest) but at the same time keep peace among themselves and live in gentle concord", the Lord would say, "let them go, there is peace among them."<sup>17</sup> But from a God in Whom is incorporated the highest principle of justice we naturally expect a distinct outward expression of this in His world government. Therefore the hard fate of Israel is understood as a purification, nay more, in *Isaiah* we find the idea of the vicarious sufferings of Israel, the fruits of which will also benefit the world of the Gentiles. At the same time this theory of purification through suffering is also applicable to inner social conditions. Mention has already been made of the democratic trend of the Jewish religion. The prophets were mainly people of lowly state, humble priests, peasants, herdsmen. With scathing bitterness they expose the flaws of society, the oppression of the poor, orphans, widows, and strangers, they raise an outcry against those who drive the peasant from field and home, against the mighty and the princes in Israel. And at the same time they preach to the poor and the miserable the consoling gospel of the Lord's rescuing them only after they have undergone the pangs of sorrow. There is hardly anything more often repeated in the post-exile parts of the Old Testament than this: the high shall be abased, the humble shall be exalted!<sup>18</sup> This, in the most manifold variations, is the theme of innumerable proverbs which all enjoin the obligation of helping the poor and oppressed: and ever and again it is emphatically proclaimed that deeds of mercy performed in a charitable frame of mind give greater satisfaction to the Lord than sacrifices to him.

Israel's conception of a God conforms now to the new ideal postulates of a deity. Stress is no longer laid on the attributes of power, a retaliating justice and boundless wisdom, but purely on kindness and mercy. "Gracious, merciful and of great kindness," these are the words repeated always in addressing God. The metaphor of the Good Shepherd, of the Kind Father is applied to him. This no longer is the God who rejoices in the ruin of Israel saying : "I will also smite my hands together, and I will cause my fury to rest" (*Ezekiel* xxi, 17).

No longer is the loving care of God restricted to "his own people". "The mercy of a man," says *Ecclesiasticus*, "is to his neighbour only ; but the mercy of God stretches over the world." To many a law-abiding Jew, to be sure, it seemed past comprehension why God should have evinced so much forbearance with regard to the sinful world of the Gentiles, but where in the world before Christ was narrow-minded zealotism rebuked with such thoughtful impressiveness and mild indulgence against the confused belittler of God's goodness as in the story of Jonah and his gourd ? (*Jonah* iv, 10, 11.) How beautifully *The Wisdom of Solomon* (xi, 23) says : "But thou hast mercy upon all ; for thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend."

People of narrow views, who think they can express the complexity of human development with a catchword, see the contrast between Judaism and Christianity symbolized in the contrast between fear and love.<sup>19</sup> Chamberlain also is far from denying himself the use of such easy phrases. The fear of God, he believes, forms the basis of the entire Jewish religion (pp. 228-9) : in the New Testament a God of mercy, in the Old Testament a God with a hard heart ; love is enjoined by the one, fear by the other. Therefore Chamberlain controverts Christianity having developed out of Judaism, as there is an absolute divergency between the one and the other, and he even goes so far as to argue from this that Jesus Christ cannot have been of Jewish race.

Of course, it seems quite natural that Jehovah, the primitive local deity of the Hebrews, should not have been of any great loveableness, and that also the stern God of law and peace of the monotheistic beginnings who sent his people into captivity in order to purify them, should have acted more through fear than through mercy. The same, however, we find with all deities of a like type, and some nations of greatest importance for the development of culture, owing to adverse circumstances, never got beyond this stage of religiosity.<sup>20</sup> In the letter



of Aristes<sup>21</sup> love is already represented as the quintessence of religion. We are there told how the Jewish scholars summoned to Alexandria for the purpose of translating the Bible into the Greek, when questioned by the king what was the most beautiful thing upon earth, responded: "This is godliness which in itself is the highest beauty. The heart and core of godliness, however, is love. And this again is a gift of God, its possession comprises all virtues." And Philo, the great Alexandrian, says: "Love is that celestial virgin who serves as an intermediiator between God who gives, and the soul which receives. The entire written law is nothing but a symbol of love."<sup>22</sup> With what great gusto does Chamberlain quote the words of the psalmist: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." But why does he omit to quote *Ecclesiasticus* (1, 14 et seq.), where the same words are to be found and where they are followed by these: "To love God is the most beautiful wisdom." The beginning of an evolution, one must remember, is not its summit.

Jesus Christ himself has said: "Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven."<sup>23</sup> But already in the Old Testament numerous precursors of the teachings of Christ are to be found, all of them clearly designating the several stages of religious development. In the *Psalms* the destruction of the enemy is still invoked; but it is the enemy of God, the "wicked", in whose blood the righteous desire to "wash his feet" (*Psalms* lviii, 11). In *Psalms* xxxvii the opinion is already expressed that it is sinful to fret over the good luck of the evil doer, because God is better than good. The warnings against the desire of returning evil for evil are very frequent, for "Hatred stirreth up strifes, but love covereth all sins" (*Proverbs* x, 12).

The conception: Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors, is found in *Ecclesiasticus* xxviii, 1 et seq. 1. "He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins" [in remembrance]. 2. "Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest . . ." The gloating over an enemy's fall is animadverted upon first from selfish motives (*Proverbs* xxiv, 17-19), but in later times from sheer feelings of human sympathy: (*Ecclesiasticus* viii, 8) "Do not rejoice

that thine enemy dies ; remember that we all must die " <sup>24</sup> ; and *Job* xxxi, 29, searching for the causes of his distress asks : " Did I rejoice at the destruction of him that hated me, or lift up myself when evil found him ? " <sup>25</sup> Precepts of active charity towards an enemy are also not lacking. Even such an early passage as *Exodus* xxiii, 4, commands : " If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and would forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him ! " *Proverbs* xxv, 21, 22, say : " If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat ; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink ; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head and the Lord shall reward thee." <sup>26</sup> This evolution, be it granted, did not run in a straight line ; it was deflected from its course by the vicissitudes of time, by the advances and retrogressions of moral consciousness. Neither did it always reflect the moral standard of the broad masses. But then, among the millions of Christians how many are there in whom the teachings of Christ have become a living factor ? <sup>27</sup> How many of them have really attained that stage of ethical development that makes it possible for them to subdue the natural instincts to such an extent as to show charity towards their enemies ? The few quotations adduced here will suffice to prove that the insurmountable gulf between Judaism and Christianity at the time when they separated only exists in the imagination of Chamberlain.

The decisive turn of the Jews toward city life and commerce with which they had become acquainted in captivity and which, for different reasons, in later times became their main field of activity, took place in the Hellenistic epoch. It is true that the new environment, violently opposed for a long time by the moralists, <sup>28</sup> developed some regrettable traits in Jewish religiosity. The strict formalism and worship of the letter, culminating in the conception that God enters each smallest offence and the smallest desert in his celestial ledger, was evidently furthered by the new direction of life. <sup>29</sup>

There is still one thing which merits consideration. Religious and philosophical currents in many cases are characteristic only of the leading circles of the respective people. Nobody will venture so far as to see in the utterance of any thought, beautiful or repulsive, an expression of the national spirit of a people. Therefore we certainly have no right to proclaim, let us say, the doctrines of some secret league or esoteric sect (such as the Essenes) as characteristic of Jewish thought

at large. But what was contained in the canonical books of the Jews was in an unparalleled way made accessible even to the broadest masses of the people through the institutions of the synagogue. Not only was it the individual duty of every man to study the holy books unceasingly, but the propagation and interpretation of the doctrine was here brought into a zealously practised system. In the synagogue any male acquainted with the Scriptures was allowed to preach and to argue at will without being asked whether he belonged to this or that sect. Jesus Christ went about all the cities and villages of Galilee preaching in the synagogues (*Matthew ix, 33*), and indeed he inveighed very keenly against the ruling party of the Pharisees. It was the same with the Apostles. Paul, coming a stranger to Antioch, was invited by the ruler of the synagogue after the reading of the law, "if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on" (*Acts xiii, 15*). Another advantage of the synagogue, at least as long as the spirit of the time favoured a freer trend, was the absence of a preponderant theological doctrine which might have led to petrification of the living spirit of religion. Ethics and religion possessed in the synagogue quite an effective instrument for further development such as can only be compared with the effect the prætorian edict had on the development of Roman law. In both cases the selection and gathering of the vital elements from out of the anonymous wisdom of centuries had been made possible by the help of eminently well-devised institutions, and in both cases the result was beyond comparison. In the domain of law the work could be completed by a circle of ingenious lawyers; in the domain of religion, where the task did not consist in codification, but in the ultimate detachment of the spirit from the dead letter, from the isolated, accidental, limited phenomenon, there was indeed required the advent of one beyond comparison.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM

The fact that Christ was a Jew and that he felt as a Jew has given umbrage to many a race dogmatist. Therefore, the more sincere among them, for instance Eduard von Hartmann, Dühring, and others, took up the cudgels against Jesus as an embodiment of Judaism.<sup>30</sup> Some again, especially Chamberlain, have made desperate efforts to dispute the Jewish origin of Jesus and to claim him for Aryanism. Whatever they advanced in this respect resulted in the truism that Galilee was a centre of race mixing and that



possibly "Aryan" strains also entered into the composition of its people. In the second German edition of this book I showed up all the contradictions and misrepresentations Chamberlain was guilty of, and I do not think it necessary to repeat all this here.<sup>31</sup> The decisive point is that indubitably there exists a close connexion between the culminating points of the prophets, the Jewish-Hellenistic literature and the Essenes on the one hand, and the teachings of Jesus on the other. Professor Breysig, a brilliant Christian writer on the history of civilization, says <sup>32</sup>: "The Christian religion has been born out of the spirit of the Jewish people; it is a product of this spirit and its greatest achievement. Jesus was so much filled with the last and deepest thoughts of his people that he appears to us as the incarnation of the genius of Judaism. Everything, to the last item, that elevates the Christian faith above the other religions is of Jewish origin. Thus above all, the unparalleled fervour of worship and the creation of the One Only Personal God."

Nearest akin to Christianity is the thought-world of the Stoics: but Stoic philosophy originated from an incontestable Semite, the Phœnician Zeno, and most of the great representatives and developers of the Stoic school were likewise Semites, as we know on the authority of ancient writers.<sup>33</sup>

#### COMPARISON BETWEEN "ARYAN" AND "SEMITE" RELIGIOSITY

The religion of the Semites in general, and of the Jews in particular, according to Chamberlain, is religious materialism, which to him is equivalent to formalism, lack of holiness of mind, worship for the sake of earthly regard or fear of punishment, lack of the conceptions of grace and redemption (as an experience of the soul), etc.

This, it is true, holds good as to certain stages in Jewish development; but it shows an inequitable disposition of mind if one neglects the fact that Israel developed on the one hand far beyond this stage of religiosity, and that on the other all these phenomena frequently, and even in much grosser forms, also occur among all Aryan peoples. Religion, says Chamberlain, is an idealist impulse all over the world (p. 400), only with the Semites it is crass materialism having in view matter-of-fact purposes, mainly "rule and riches" in this world and welfare in the next. In opposition to this, let us give here a few illustrative passages from the Scriptures. *Psalms* xlii: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul

after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God : when shall I come and appear before God ? ” *Psalms* lxxiii : The psalmist rebukes the people who say, “ Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world ; they increase in riches. Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency ” : his profession of faith is, “ Whom have I in heaven but thee ? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth ; but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.” *Proverbs* xxx, 7-8 : “ Two things have I required of thee ; deny me them not before I die : Remove far from me vanity and lies ; give me neither poverty nor riches ; feed me with food convenient for me : Lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord ? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain.” <sup>34</sup> Rather does it seem astonishing how small is the number of covetous passages that have been taken over from the olden times into the text of the Scriptures. True, as didactic example it is often adduced how God rewards the righteous with earthly goods, and the God-fearing even expects the Lord to bless him in recognition of his good conduct ; in the later parts of the Scriptures, however, there are but few direct prayers invoking reward, or even demands, such as the Vedic “ Put down for me, I put down for thee ”. In the entire book of *Psalms* there is only one passage, namely in cxliv, 13-14, which has struck me in this respect, and even there the blessing of God is represented only as the outcome of a righteous frame of mind. As to the hope of reward in the life to come, this cannot have mattered much, for Chamberlain himself pointed out that the Old Testament does not know an “ other world ” in our sense.

The conception of a Hell and a Devil, according to Chamberlain, is a Jewish invention. He calls it the one “ true stain of infamy in the doctrine of the Church ”. Biblical Judaism, however, does not know in the least the idea of reward and punishment in a life to come ; notions of this kind appear only in very late times, and then only in a very vague form. The *Talmud* in fact speaks of a heaven sometimes conceived under purely spiritual forms sometimes under more material ones, and of a hell (*Gehennom*) where the wicked are tortured six months through fire and six months through frost, whereupon their final destruction follows. At any rate this is a more merciful conception than that of the dogma of the Roman Church which even to-day—under penalty of Hell—commands the Catholic to believe in the eternal torments of hell fire.

Hell and devil, however, occur also in the more advanced stages of Indian religion and are conceived in a rather materialistic sense. Professor Hardy says on India: "Characteristic of this epoch was the delight in depicting the punishments of Hell. A single hell was no longer deemed sufficient, some more were devised and fitted out with instruments of torture of the most refined cruelty, as long as one could not hope to torment the sinner even more by a 'hell on earth', that is, a reincarnation in loathsome creatures (worms, etc.)." The metempsychosis of the Indians in fact is a very gross form of the belief in retribution and, what is worse, is unfavourable to the development of active morality.

With the Hellenes, Plato depicted both hell and devil in the most horrible colours. The philosopher, Professor W. Diltthey, sees in the devil a sublime grotesque product of the great energetic, battling religious minds of the Teutonic race. "It was as if the vigorous, religious belief of the racially related Parsee in the two contending realms had found new life in the Teuton reformers of the sixteenth century." Friedrich Schlegel, one of the chief initiators of the romantic school in German literature, believed "Satan to be a German invention". "Certainly," he says, "he is a favourite with German poets and philosophers."<sup>35</sup>

Incessantly do the prophets admonish the people that God does not heed sacrifices, but the heart and soul of men; not oxen nor sheep does he require but deeds of faith and love; not penance in sackcloth and ashes can win his grace, but conversion and repentance; and the works of charity ought not to be practised in public before the eyes of men, but in secret. Precepts of this kind are enjoined in the most manifold variations not only by the prophets but also in many passages of post-exilic writings, especially in the *Psalms*.<sup>36</sup> What Chamberlain asserts, namely, that the Old Testament lacks the insight of human imperfections and of the necessity of inner transformations through the grace of God, it is untrue. *Psalms* cxxx asks: "If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" And the answer is: "In Thy sight shall no man living be justified" (*Psalms* cxliii, 2; *Job* xiv, 4; xv, 14; xxv, 5-6; *Proverbs* xx, 9). But God does not judge after justice, but after mercy. As highest favour he holds out to his children the promise of a new heart and a new spirit (*Ezekiel* xi, 19, and xxxii, 26)—his own free spirit, as *Psalms* li, 12, says. In the *Talmud*, so much reviled by Chamberlain, the necessity of divine grace is urged with special emphasis.<sup>37</sup>



The Scriptures discarded the conception of the sacramental power of certain formulæ and actions without the concomitance of a pious mind ; nay more, in the Old Testament we find weighty voices questioning the propriety of the holocaust and foreboding its abandonment. In Talmudic Judaism, it is true, there appeared an atavistic return to sanctimoniousness, and precisianism assumed huge proportions, but even here stress is laid on the conception that the entire Jewish law is of consequence only in so far as it forms the touchstone for the obedience of Israel to God, and thereby a recreation for the people. This, certainly, is an ethical motivation of no small moment.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, preference is always given to the ethical precepts before the purely ritual prescriptions. Chamberlain illustrates the slavery of the Jews under the law by bringing forward the well-known fact of the 613 Biblical precepts and prohibitions regulating the doings of Israel, but Rabbi Simlai, an eminent Talmudist, taught that the prophets had reduced these laws to a small number of purely ethical precepts which finally were condensed into only one supreme maxim.

In later pre-Christian times we find a curious evolution of the conception of " wisdom ". Originally this word signified shrewdness or practical wisdom only, the art of attaining a happy life. Later on it more and more assumed a religious and ethical tinge. Its meaning became what we would call " individually applied religion " on the basis of a universal religious morality. Afterwards wisdom is represented as an emanation of God and plainly identified with his moral essence. This wisdom as voiced in the *Torah*, now reconciled to more advanced thought by allegorical interpretation, is even placed above God. In the beginning, even before he made the world—thus the speculation runs—God created the *Torah*, whereupon he took counsel with it regarding the projected creation of the world. The *Torah* is represented as part of God's essence as a " daughter of God ", whom not even he himself may transform or change. Nay more, in the end God himself submits to the *Torah* even to the minutest details, studies it three hours every day, and the like. However, all Talmudic laws, even though not direct postulates of morality, are yet made subservient to moral purposes in so far as they teach self-restraint to man.

The heteronomy in the morals ordained by God after all fades in face of the fact that God never revealed unto man anything but what already pre-existed in him and in us as part of our essence. How forcibly and irrefutably is this expressed already in the fifth book of Moses (*Deut.* xxx, 11-14): " This commandment which I command

thee this day is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."

Thus the divine law has here the character of an educational measure. In the same way as a father instructs his children as to right and wrong, and at times also urges his teaching by the rod or by sweet rewards, thus also God is but the interpreter of the *Torah*, the pre-existent moral law of the *Torah*, which he can neither change nor alter; and reward and punishment cannot infringe upon the absoluteness of moral duties. Professor Lazarus in his *Ethics of Judaism* on the ground of a vast material has essayed to prove the congruity of the moral teachings of the *Talmud* with those of Emmanuel Kant. The *Talmud*, far from being a book of a uniform character, comprises the Jewish literary product of many centuries, and therefore contains the most heterogeneous opinions, the most lofty aspirations between grossest superstitions and narrow-mindedness. Reward, though not made a condition of moral conduct, is expected by common conscience in the main, though only as a mere sign of God's approval. The conception of punishment and reward has never been entirely discarded by religious ethics of any kind; but it may be said that this postulate has hardly been raised by a larger number of voices than in the religious literature of the Jews.<sup>39</sup>

The bias of Jewish mentality for problems of social ethics contributed essentially to divert the speculations of Jewish thinkers from the contemplation of nature and metaphysical problems resulting from it, such as formed so very important a part in the philosophy of ancient India. The Jew did not conceive nature objectively, as having its end and aim in itself; for him nature existed only in so far as it had a bearing upon man and his ethical aims. Ever and again the virtues of animals are brought forward as examples for the emulation of man, and the phenomena of nature are explained as symbols of social and ethical relations. Nature itself appears as one great textbook of ethics.

This easily explains the comparative poverty of metaphysical speculations in Jewish thought. "A man that philosophizes on these four points, namely, what there is above the heavens or below

the earth, what existed before the creation and what might come after its cessation, would be happier never to have been born," says the *Mishnah*. This turn of mind, however, is not based on racial predispositions but it is the educational result of historical evolution.

In any case, the often repeated assertion that the Jews lack a sense of mysticism is quite erroneous. We see, on the contrary, mystic currents showing themselves already in pre-Christian times, and still more in the period in which Christianity took its origin. Philo, of Alexandria, who represented the ecstatic uplift of the soul to God as the true aim and end of life and supreme happiness, was a starting point of the Neo-Platonic school on which rested all the ulterior development of philosophical mysticism. "A remarkable touch of philosophical mysticism," says Julius Guttman, "is noticeable throughout the whole of Jewish religious philosophy of the Middle Ages. The ecstatic contemplation of God is here considered as the highest form of religious life to which all ethical activity is but a preparatory step. The shrewdest opponent of all philosophical intellectualism was Jehuda Halevi. He saw the elementary form of religious life in the immediate experience of the divine presence, in the contemplation of God, which is given to man as a divine gift of grace, and this fundamental view he has in common with his Aristotelian adversaries, who believe that the discriminating activity of the intellect when it has reached its highest point suddenly transforms itself into an immediate and intuitive comprehension of God by which it attains the highest aims of human life. In this conception lie the roots of Spinoza's 'amor dei intellectualis' the powerful keystone of his system."

#### RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION OF INDIA

The development of religious thought in ancient Aryan India has been essentially different. One of the greatest experts says of it: "The Vedic religion first and last is a religion of sacrificial rites." The intention is quite businesslike and has material objects in view, of ethical values there is not even a question. Adequate returns are expected and even plainly demanded. I to you—you to me: "do ut des" is the short formula of the Vedic sacrifice. "Here is the butter, where are the return gifts?" and in a quite businesslike manner the items are specified which the gods have to deliver in payment. The prayers are seldom expressive of godliness or religious fervour, and they never show a humble spirit; their object is the preservation of outward



goods or the deprecation of evils ; as to gratitude towards the gods, only scant traces are to be found ; the verb “ to thank ” does not even occur in the Vedic language.<sup>40</sup>

This conception of the sacrifice went so far that finally coercive power was attributed to the sacrifice in regard to the gods, and it often seems that sacrifices differed from spells and magic practices only in so far as the latter bore upon the minor demons, while the former had as an object the official gods. The sacrifice, when executed to faultless perfection, constrains the gods. “ Devotion,” it is said, “ rules over the gods,” and even still grosser “ the sacrifice chases Indra as the hunter chases the game ”, it calls Indra to the sacrifice as one calls a cow to be milked, or it makes the god flow like a fountain of riches. Professor Oldenburg gives the following opinion respecting the later *Vedas* : “ it may be said that in the views of the *Atharva Veda* the centre of meritorious doing has been shifted from the cult of the gods to the duty of making presents to, and feeding and honouring of the Brahmin.”<sup>41</sup> Nowhere in the Scriptures is there found such intolerable begging and even threatening the deity for the sake of earthly gain as we find in the *Veda*, nowhere does the Old Testament conceive Jehovah as dependent on the sacrifice in such a grossly material way as the Brahmin conceives his wine-loving Indra. The hollow verbosity, the dull ritualism, and the lack of true devoutness with the Brahmins excited the sarcasm of the Buddhists, and sometimes even of the Vedic writers themselves ; meekness was a thing unknown to the proud Brahmin who, conscious of his sanctity, placed himself above the very gods.<sup>42</sup>

This is explained by the circumstance that the priests among the ancient Hindus enjoyed an immense authority nourished by the belief of the masses in their magic powers. To the priest Kacjapa the possession of the whole world was given, and the several kings held their rule merely in fief. The book of laws established the unconditional submission of royalty under the authority of the Brahmins. The foremost duty of the kings and of all men in general is making presents to the priests ; this alone brings good luck to the givers. He who shows himself niggardly in this respect is threatened with bad luck, and the most horrible curses are hurled against him who should ever venture to lay hands on the property or power of the priest ; the most dreadful punishment of Hell would be his lot. The belief in the magic power and inviolability of the priests conditioned the whole evolution of the Hindu mind. With the people of Israel, on the contrary, all occult practices and

ecstatic forms of worship were abandoned at an early period. Also the priest-rule stage was soon overcome in Israel and the entire province of religion was pervaded by a common-sense morality intelligible to all. The rabbis in later Judaism do not stand out above the laymen by any mystical consecration or magic power, they are not wizards and not even priests properly speaking, but simply religious and juridical advisers, and not even this in a professional way. While the Brahmin lived on the gifts of the laymen, which he could extort by a curse if not given spontaneously, the Jewish rabbi of later times was strictly prohibited from teaching the Law for pay, and this principle was kept up as late as the fourteenth century. Therefore, we find among the best Talmudic authorities of the earlier times a great number of craftsmen who in their spare hours exercised the functions of a rabbi, and the two most famous founders of Talmudic schools, Hillel the Elder and Shammai, were artisans by profession.<sup>43</sup>

In India, too, it is true, many religious thinkers rose far above the magic ritualism of the priest caste, thus above all in the sublime religious philosophy of the Vedanta, in Buddhism, and in Jainism.<sup>44</sup> But with all their profundity of thought, even the most eminent productions of the ancient Hindu genius lack that vital warmth of love which pervades the teachings of Christ. Hindu saints are virtuosi of self-torture and self-annihilation; but for the ethical discipline of mankind their teachings are of little value. In the same way as all morality that sprang from Judaism is social ethics, so all morality grown out of the soil of India is individual ethics. The one is ruled by the tendency to reform the world, the other sees the chief task of the individual in making himself free from the world. The zealous sympathy for those that have been struck by destiny, the postulate of justice in the prophetic speeches "the humble shall be exalted, the exalted shall be abased", never entered the Hindu genius; the perfecting of one's own self remained the highest aim of all aspirations. The transmigration of souls implies essentially that each soul according to its desert is re-born in a higher or in a lower caste. Why then sympathize with the humble and despised who but expiate the sins of a former life? In contrast to the fundamental postulate of the Gospel the aristocratic tendency of the Hindu religion demands the strictest division of the castes even through outward distinctions; interdicts all intercourse with lower castes, and with cruel severity bars out the lower orders even from an attempt of spiritual uplift.

Buckle has collected a number of illustrative cases in regard to the position of the lower castes in India.<sup>45</sup> He says :

“ If a member of this despised class presumed to occupy the same seat as his superiors he was either to be exiled or to suffer a painful and ignominious punishment. If he spoke of them with contempt, his mouth was to be burned ; if he actually insulted them, his tongue was to be slit : if he molested a Brahmin, he was to be put to death ; if he sat on the same carpet with a Brahmin, he was to be maimed for life ; if, moved by the desire of instruction, he even listened to the reading of the sacred books, burning oil was to be poured into his ears ; if, however, he committed them to memory, he was to be killed ; if he were guilty of a crime, the punishment for it was greater than that inflicted on his superiors ; but if he himself were murdered, the penalty was the same as for killing a dog, a cat, or a crow. Should he marry his daughter to a Brahmin, no retribution that could be exacted in this world was sufficient ; it was therefore announced that the Brahmin must go to Hell, for having suffered contamination from a woman immensely his inferior. Indeed it was ordered that the mere name of a labourer should be expressive of contempt so that his proper standing might be immediately known. And lest this should not be enough to maintain the subordination of society, a law was actually made forbidding any labourer to accumulate wealth ; while another clause declared that even though his master should give him freedom, he would in reality still be a slave ; ‘ for,’ says the lawgiver, ‘ of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested ? ’ ”

#### BUDDHISM

Buddhism, the end and aim of which is redemption from suffering through the extinction of the will, is divergent fundamentally from Brahminic religiosity. For it is the ever working, ceaseless will that engenders all suffering, and only he who annihilates his will can attain to a state of bliss even here in this world. In many respects the teachings of Buddha conform to those already existing in Brahminism ; but in his admonition to be kind and gentle towards all creatures he brought something new to faith : and gave rise to numerous and admirable charitable institutions. Buddha did not set up as a social reformer—this would have been contradictory to his fundamental tendency—he did not touch the existing caste organizations of society,<sup>46</sup> and yet the movement he founded was decidedly popular and at the same time a counteraction against



the overbearing Brahminic aristocracy. The three Parcæ ruling Indian destiny, namely, the physical conditions of the country, the social structure of the people, and the absence of such national catastrophes as would have disciplined the people and welded them together into one united nation, also prevented Buddhism from surmounting the barriers set to Indian thought. Buddha's ethics do not attain to the loftiness of the teachings and example of Jesus, his is a rationalist morality, enjoining on man kindness and charity in his dealings with animals also, advising pardon of offenders, but always for utilitarian motives and considerations of punishment and reward, that is to say, suffering or deliverance from suffering. Rapturous love, sublime and unselfish devotion, failing which even he who has all faith and all knowledge is become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal, is beyond Buddha. What he teaches is : " All pangs and complaints, all sufferings throughout this world of change, arise from out of what we love ; where there is no love pain and suffering have no existence. Therefore those who have nothing in the world to love are rich and free from pain. Whosoever, therefore, strives to attain the place where there is neither pain nor impurity must not suffer himself to love anything in this world." <sup>47</sup> Oldenburg adds : " Thus the kindness of the Buddhist is far from the mysterious, inexplicable self-devotion of love ; its motive power is reflective rationalism, the persuasion that this way is best for each and all, and that by law of nature kind dealings must be followed by ample reward." <sup>48</sup> The true holy life is that of the monk, and the exhortation to practise charity does not in the first place refer to the poor and miserable, but to monks, priests, and wise men. " The fundamental commandment for the monk, however, is not ' thou shalt live in this world and try to reform it in such a way as to make it worth living in ', but ' thou shalt detach thyself from this world.' " This is particularly expressed in the Buddhist's disparagement of work, woman (as tempting man to lust), and all conditions of social life.<sup>49</sup>

To-day India is no longer the country of Buddhism ; its centre of gravitation has shifted northward to the Mongolic nations. Of the causes of this we are ignorant. The religious genius of India has given birth to a great many other sects among which the Hinduistic ones have prevailed. Religious fervour has continued to produce many a beautiful flower <sup>50</sup> yet the culmination of the Vedanta has not been surpassed by metaphysical speculation, nor have the ethics of Buddhism been transcended by any other religious system in India. The final result on the whole seems rather

to point to a degeneracy than to evince a progressive evolution. Religion in India is mainly a matter of outward show ; perverse imagination indulges in depicting ghastly scenes, especially in expatiating on the tortures of Hell. Cruel, abominable cults luxuriate in secrecy where European rule has banished them from the surface.

The Hindu development best evinces the dependence of religion on natural and social conditions. The following hypothesis of Professor Otto Pfleiderer is interesting <sup>51</sup> : There exists in the *Vedas* a circle of divinities with Varuna at its head, which probably is of earlier origin than that of Indra. The essential outlines of Varuna are such as point to an ethical monotheism ; the equitable and benevolent sway of this divinity extends over mankind, gods, and nature, and stands in striking contrast to the doings of Indra whose moral dispositions are of a very questionable character. The cause of this ethical king of gods having been supplanted by the naturalistic hero and drunkard Indra lies perhaps in the victory of the aristocracy over an earlier national monarchy, of which, however, seeing the incompleteness of the Indian historical sources, no direct evidence has come down to us.

### TOLERANCE

One of the chief differences between Indogermanic and Semite mentality, according to Chamberlain's often and emphatically repeated assertion, consists in matters of tolerance. The Semite is fanatical and on principle intolerant of every free movement of thought, the Aryan is of the most liberal tolerance. Even all the millions of human lives destroyed through the religious intolerance of the several Christian denominations are in reality but the victims of the Old Testament and of the Jewish spirit in Christianity.<sup>52</sup>

The Bible, indeed, contains many horrid records of wholesale slaughters ordained by God. Yet in most cases the real motives were simply those of all conquering barbarians. Sometimes they were obviously only later justified on religious and ethical grounds. A critical examination shows that Jehovah, at least in peace times, originally was exceedingly tolerant <sup>53</sup> ; he acknowledged the existence of other divinities beside himself, and he did not claim any authority whatever outside the confines of Israel. In foreign countries, naturally the gods of the respective people ruled, and to these even the most God-fearing Israelite paid his homage

whenever he happened to live in their country. Solomon erected temples to the gods of the peoples he conquered, likewise Ahab to the god of the allied Tyrians, and so forth. No tendency towards isolation is noticeable, as is proved by the easy practice of intermarrying<sup>54</sup> and by the harmless way of dealing with foreigners. The seclusion from all foreigners as practised by the Egyptians appeared to the Israelites as something strange and unaccountable. Moses himself took to wife the daughter of a Midianite priest, who served other gods, and with him he kept up a friendly intercourse. In a people whose horizon kept within the narrow boundaries of its own country there could, of course, arise no thought of a universal rule. The ancient Hebrews, in short, present the typical example of a people which has not yet arrived much beyond the stage of natural religion. The gods, in fact, are conceived as the embodiment of the powers of nature with whom all those who dwell within the range of their influence must come to terms. The idea of making proselytes would have been quite unintelligible to those peoples.

A change took place in the same proportion as natural religion developed into ethical religion, that is to say, with the growing conception of the gods not being powers of nature, but moral forces whose might extended as far as the moral law in the hearts and minds of men. Of great moment in this respect was the gradual approach towards ethical monotheism whose fundamental thesis is : One God—one faith ! The votary of the supreme ethical God feels himself as part of a higher world and looks down with pity and contempt upon the “idol worshipper” whose own low morals exactly correspond to the whims of his “idol”. In some cases it is also the antagonistic moral views springing from contrasting conditions of life, such as only through war can find a solution.

It is easy to explain why in India religion aroused comparatively little intolerance. Metaphysical problems which formed the subject of Hindu speculation are not such as to arouse fanaticism. The one religious movement of predominantly ethic character in India was Buddhism which, however, was not hostile in principle to the existing social order, but only taught its votaries to turn away from the things of this world. Even this slight disregard shown by the Buddhists was sufficient to arouse the resentment of the haughty Brahmins, and reciprocal invectives and defamation of the religions was the result. Heretics are excluded from the Brahmin heavens. The law of Manu, which represents a reaction of Brahmin power against Buddhism, commands that heretics be driven without the



the city, but Brahminism was too much at variance with itself to have sufficient power to choke the youthful Buddhist movement which, moreover, was frequently patronized by princes. The only attempts at violent oppression, as far as we have learned, was that of King Pushpamitra.

Quite a different spirit animated the Persian religion, which presented ethical monotheism in the purest form with active morality as its highest law. Ahuramazda hates the evil one and his followers, to fight whom is a sacred duty. The morals of the hard-working Iranian tillers of the ground stood in such clashing contrast to those of the nomadic worshippers of Indra, to whom might was right, that there was no possibility of dwelling side by side, a war of extermination was the only possible relation between them. Such a stern religion of race and law could not be tolerant.<sup>55</sup>

A remarkable fact in the history of religious tolerance is the development of universal empires. Many great conquerors felt a necessity to reconcile the conquered by showing reverence to their gods and even sometimes they patronized foreign cults, and thus secured the support of the priests in order to procure for their rule a sort of religious consecration. This can be said of the religious tolerance of Cyrus and Alexander, as also of that evinced by the Mongol khans. All universal empires, however, show at the same time a marked tendency towards religious syncretism in the direction of monotheism.<sup>56</sup> Of course their tolerance ended when the interest of the state seemed threatened. Just the best Roman emperors were the most ruthless persecutors of the Christians; the contrast of the moral and social principles was irreconcilable.

Discrimination must be made between the intolerance of ethical religions, which out of sheer benevolence wish to force upon others their own better standard,<sup>57</sup> and that other sort of intolerance found in natural religions, which refrains from proselytizing and only wards off attacks such as might excite the revenge of the offended divinity. An Athenian would never have dreamed of forcing his own gods or cult upon a Corinthian or a Persian, but woe betide any philosopher who ventured to advance opinions such as might have denied or even discredited the national gods. The indictment of "asebeia" (godlessness) was fatal. Socrates was not the only one that had to drink the cup of hemlock in humane Athens; there was hardly one free and upright thinker who escaped unharmed from the saintly persecutions of his compatriots. Scheichl,<sup>58</sup> in a careful special study depicts the religious trials and persecutions

directed against Æschylus, Phidias, Damon, Anaxagoras, Aspasia, Pericles, Socrates, Diogenes of Apollonia, Euripides, Alcibiades, Andocides, Diagoras of Melos, Protagoras, Prodicus of Keos, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Theodorus, Stilpon, Phormius, Demades, Aristarch, Archias, Leocrates, and others. As early as 433 B.C. the priest Diopceithes demanded that the unbelieving philosophers, who in their dialogues treated of astronomical matters, should be brought to trial. Anaxagoras, in fact, was indicted because of his teaching that the sun was a glowing mass of stones. Aristarch of Samos was accused of having offended the goddess of the earth by his theory of the earth and planets revolving around the sun, in all points a forerunner of Galileo in "Aryan" Hellas! Plato, whom Chamberlain conceives to be one of the most sublime incarnations of the Aryan spirit, exhaustively treats the subject of godlessness in his book of *The Laws*. The atheists, according to him, should all be brought to trial and at least be punished by imprisonment. He who believes that the gods do not care for man should undergo a sentence of penal servitude for a term of five years. If at the end of that period he failed to reform, he is to be put to death. Those who propagate their unbelief are to be held in prison for life, and their bodies, when they die, are to be carried beyond the frontiers and cast away unburied. Whosoever buries them is likewise to be held guilty of godlessness. Nobody is allowed to keep a private sanctuary in his own house. Whosoever celebrates other rites but those publicly recognized falls under condign punishment. Should the perpetrator have acted not from ignorance but out of malice and with a view of outraging the gods, then he is to suffer death. Scheichl adds: "Such postulates, to be sure, smell fatally of the worst practices of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages. It is regrettable that Plato furnished the most efficient tools to the grave-diggers of free thought. In this respect he stands side by side with the authors of the Jewish book of *Deuteronomy*."

The impulse for outgrowing the naturalistic stage of religion was given to Israel through the Babylonian captivity and through the prophets. At the same time we notice the increasing self-assertion of the people. The "gods of the gentiles" are scoffed at, not on account of innate Semitic intolerance but with express reference to the low moral standard of their worship and votaries, indulging in infanticide sacrifices religious fornication, cruel laws, etc. From that time onward the Jews never wearied in extolling their own superiority, the sublimity of their religion,

the humanity of their law, and to denounce the depravity of heathenish morals.<sup>59</sup> Not till the time of Hellenistic expansion did Judaism encounter a cultural factor to match its own ; and the Jewish spirit was in fact most strongly influenced by Hellenistic civilization. To what length the Jews went in this respect is shown by the fact that one of the Jewish high priests of this epoch disguised his Hebrew name Jesus under the Greek name of Jason and offered sacrifices to Hercules. The Jewish orthodox philosopher Philo, of Alexandria,<sup>60</sup> the best representative of the Jewish-Hellenistic school, even asserted that only the soil of Hellas was productive of true men. Greek philosophy and Jewish revelation, he says, are one and the same ; and he was even prone to admit a grain of truth also in the religions of the Gentiles, forbidding to curse their gods, and teaching his followers that divine providence punished those who outrage the sanctuaries of the Gentiles ; Plato is to him the " great and most venerable man ", he speaks of the holy congregation of the Pythagoreans, of the holy societies of divine men formed by Parmenides, Empedocles, and others. The entire moral law, according to Philo, may be condensed into two maxims, the same which Jesus also taught : veneration of God and justice towards mankind.

This purified form of religion fully accounts for the enormous success the Jewish propaganda had in the world of the Gentiles, a success which filled the bearers of this propaganda with just pride. For a long time it seemed doubtful whether the world was going to be Christian or Jewish. The Jewish propaganda, at any rate, was of great moment, in so far as it largely prepared the way for the subsequent Christian evangelization. In the following period of rivalry with the Christians, and still later when Jewish communities lived scattered among less civilized Christian populations, who regarded those strangers from the East with wonder and distrustful aversion, the pride of the people of older culture grew into conceit and presumption. And the sadder the conditions of the Jews grew in the Middle Ages, the more desperately they clung to this one heritage from great days, namely, the infatuation of their own superiority. It is often observed in nations growing old that they strain beyond measure the glorious dreams of their early days, in the same way as decayed aristocratic families sometimes grow haughty in like proportion as their outward situation deteriorates. A striking example of this is presented by the Greeks of the period of decadence, who, as Theodor Mommsen has shown, looked down with infinite disdain upon their Roman conquerors.



The Jews, however, owing to the living treasure of the prophets have always been preserved from utter extremes in this respect. It is one of the habitual detractions of Chamberlain's when he asserts that according to the prevailing rabbinical opinion, non-Jews were barred from the Messianic world to come. The leading Christian authority in Talmudic research, to whom Chamberlain refers to support his own assertions, quoting him second-hand without being acquainted himself with his writings, says on the contrary, that in later Judaism only the godless "Gentiles" were sent to Sheol while all the others were to be converted and so enter the kingdom of God.<sup>61</sup> And now what about the pretended Jewish aspirations to universal rule? After the style of the claptrap anti-Semite press, Chamberlain informs us that the Jews always had the rule of the world in view, as promised them by Jehovah, and the enslavement of all the "Gentiles"; as a proof that this is still their aim he quotes the misinterpreted utterances of a modern Zionist. The truth is that nowhere in the promises of Jehovah in the *Torah* is there a question of universal rule; only the land of Canaan is promised to the Israelites, and even this from ethical motives alone; on account of the abominations of the former inhabitants, their human sacrifices, their enmity against peaceful Israel, the country will be taken from them, and given over to the Israelites,<sup>62</sup> an ethical argument which, by the way, proves the late origin of the respective passages in the Bible. As chief evidence Chamberlain adduces the well-known passage in *Isaiah* (lx) in which the glory of the New Jerusalem is depicted, when kings will come to "lick the feet of Israel" and the Gentiles will come from afar and bring their silver and gold, while those kings and nations that will not serve Israel "shall be utterly wasted", and so forth. This whole chapter is obviously to be held as nothing more than a hyperbolic outburst of feeling, intended to set off the future glory as contrasted to the present humiliation of the captivity.

According to Chamberlain it was the prophet Ezekiel "who founded Judaism proper", to whom all the narrowness and ill-nature of this religion, including the universal theocracy, can be traced (p. 428). But Ezekiel fixed and limited to a nicety the geographical boundaries of the land which God will give to Israel to live in (compare *Ezekiel* xl, 13-20; Stade ii, p. 55), keeping to the old limits in the south and only claiming a few Syrian districts more in the north, while he waived the whole of Trans-Jordania which formerly had been held by Israelitic tribes. Not a word of universal rule!

Later on, in the *Talmud*, we find from the above characterized motives, and especially under the conception of a reward due to Israel for the patient suffering of nameless woe, frequent expressions of hope far beyond the promises of the Bible.<sup>63</sup> A Messiah will lead the Jews back to the Holy Land where they will live in the strictest purity and in the fulfilment of the law; the Gentiles living in Palestine will be their serfs, while those abroad will be permitted to keep their religions and political constitutions on condition, however, of paying tribute and giving back what they once took away from the Jews. The miraculous might of the Messianic kingdom will appear also in the fact that the Jews will be exempt from death and that the term of life of the Gentiles will be extended, at least, to one hundred years. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, moreover, teaches that also the Gentiles will then win immortal life upon earth. That these and such like dreams ever had any practical influence cannot be supposed.

#### JUDAISM AND THE CHURCH

The worst thing brought into the world by Judaism, according to Chamberlain, is the idea of the church, i.e. a priestly organization endowed with wordly power for the purpose of domineering over the minds, while thought and mind are recalcitrant against all restraint whatsoever.<sup>64</sup> It is from Judaism that the Roman church derived its intolerance, formalism, despotic inclinations, and hatred against whatever is Teutonic. Priestly rule is incompatible with the Aryan spirit, which has a bias for sectarianism and is bent on freedom of thought. Thus, Chamberlain points out, "The Teutons had no professional priest caste and therefore all forms of theocracy were quite foreign to them" (p. 626). This assertion is not exact,<sup>65</sup> for both priesthood and theocracy are found not only among some single Teutonic tribes but also in entire Aryan nations. How thoroughly organized the priestly rule in India and Persia has been shown in the foregoing. According to Chamberlain's own theory, there was no racial difference between the Gauls and the Teutons; and we must also suppose that he is not quite ignorant as to the existence of a mighty caste of Druids among the ancient Gauls, unto whom the masses of the people, according to Cæsar, were little better than bondsmen.

Among the Teutonic nations who had conquered parts of the Roman Empire it was the doctrines of Arius that at first seemed to prevail. Arianism, as conceived by Chamberlain, was a sort of precursor of Teuton protestantism.<sup>66</sup> Professor Ferdinand Baur,

however, the founder of modern German ecclesiastic history, characterizes this religion as follows <sup>67</sup>: "Arianism, in its last consequences, was decidedly rationalistic and believed to possess in its abstract ideas and categories the objective essence of the things themselves. Religion, therefore, is mere knowledge for the Arian, and all relations between God and man must lie clear and lucid before his eyes. He dislikes whatever is mystic and transcendent in religion and cannot be logically defined and reduced to definite abstractions. No real community exists for him between God and man, both being essentially different and dualistically separated from one another, and therefore the substance of religion, as far as it is not pure theory, is exhausted by man's knowledge of, and obedience to the will of God." Does this not sound like an exact recital of Chamberlain's own conception of Semite religiosity? In fact Professor Vierkandt <sup>68</sup> opines that the Arian sub-species of Christianity is of a kindred spirit with the Islamic and Semitic religions. As contrasted to this, Ernst Moritz Arndt, speaking of Judaism, says: "The tales of this Old Testament breathed Protestantism even before there were Protestants, and the spirit of Lutheranism when Doctor Martin was yet unborn."

Chamberlain bestows great praise on Edwin Hatch's study on the Greek influence in Christianity, <sup>69</sup> and he is fully right in doing so, but as a main result we learn from this excellent work that most of what Chamberlain traces to Semitic or "chaotic" influences on Christianity came in reality from Greek sources, and even directly from the very heart and core of Hellenism when at its height, and not perhaps as a product of its degeneracy.

In short, wherever we submit the assertions of the race dogmatists concerning the interconnexions between race and religion to a close examination, we find them built upon the deceitful sands of ignorance and blind prejudice.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

<sup>1</sup> E. Seillière in his *H. S. Chamberlain*, 1917, has shown that Chamberlain here made use of the ideas of Schopenhauer, who, however, himself was no race theorist.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for example numerous parallels given by Karl Beth in his *Einführung in die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft*, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> On the effects of climate and the longing for absolute peace as the highest aim, see Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., 1867, vol. i, pp. 401-94; Liefmann, *Geschichte des alten Indiens*, 1899, pp. 356, 404, 667.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1901, p. 85; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1887, vol. i, p. 101 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See R. von Ihering, *Vorgeschichte der Indoeuropäer*, 1894 (published incomplete from his literary remains). The result he arrives at is: "The soil is the people," p. 97, "If the people had been changed in their cradles, the Semites would have become Aryans and the Aryans Semites."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion der Semiten*, German ed., 1899, pp. 51 seq.; Pfeiderer, *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*, 3rd ed., 1896, p. 117 seq.

<sup>7</sup> The sharp contrast between barren and fertile nature in Iran is reflected in the dualism between Ahuramazda and Ahriman, as in Egypt between the god of the desert Seth and Hor.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Max Wundt, *Geschichte der griechischen Ethik*, 1908-11, vol. i, pp. 74, 119 seq., 205, 293, 330; Pfeiderer, p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Beside the camel herdsmen, who are real nomads and robbers, there are also the peaceful small shepherds of small cattle, whose flocks depend for their food on the barren stubble fields and require very wide tracts of changing fields. For this reason these shepherds must keep on good terms with the farmers. The great importance of this half-nomadic life for the religious and ethical development of Israel, Max Weber has accentuated strongly. The patriarchs belong here. Vide Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 2nd ed., 1923, vol. iii: *Das antike Judentum*, pp. 11, 44 seq. The first volumes of this fundamental work treat of Puritanism, China, and India. Weber shows with the greatest scholarship and deep insight the economic and political foundations and effects of religion.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 4th ed., 1901, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> Gideon received the call to free his people at the moment when he was threshing his father's corn, David was tending his flock when he was called to be crowned king, Elisha was called from his plough when he was chosen prophet, and so on (cf. Guttman, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 36, 1913, p. 204).

<sup>12</sup> This explains why the Old Testament made a far greater impression on the old Teutons and Slavs than the New Testament, as one gathers from the numerous passages in their literature taken from the Old Testament, the choice of baptismal names, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1887, vol. i, p. 510; further cf. R. Smend, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 1889, p. 169.

<sup>14</sup> A Protestant theologian, Professor F. Wilke, in his *Das Frauenideal und die Schätzung des Weibes im Alten Testament*, 1907, says: "One may assert boldly that it was the Mosaic religion which created family life." "If we consider how poor the old Orient, with the exception of Israel, was in noble women and how low a woman was held among the heathens, we can hardly deny our admiration for the much belittled Old Testament" (p. 54).

<sup>15</sup> This is not even quite exact as regards the Pharisees. Cf. the book by R. Travers Herford, on *Pharisaic Judaism* (German ed., Leipzig, 1913). The Protestant belief that every layman has a call to the priesthood is Pharisaic.

<sup>16</sup> *Isaiah* ii, 4, 11; xi, 6 seq.; xix, 24 seq.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Lazarus, *Ethik des Judentums*, 1899, p. 359. Cf. also *Proverbs* vi, 16–19.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Proverbs* xxxi, 8, 9; xiv, 31; and many similar sayings.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. against this conception M. Weber, iii, p. 262, and further on the fear of God, Schroeder, *Wesen und Ursprung der Religion*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Certainly among the Greeks there were minds that had a noble conception of God, but it is extremely difficult for a man to free himself from the ruling opinion. Even the pious Herodotus says "That the Godhead was entirely envious and irascible" (cf. *Herodotus* i, 32, iii, 40, viii, 10, 46, 56). and Aristotle thinks in his great work on *Ethics* that between God and man, no love or return of love can exist, and that it would be "inappropriate if one said he loved Zeus". On the Hellenic conception of the envy of the gods who begrudged even noble men their happiness and practised terrible vengeance on them, cf. F. Schmidt, *Ethik der alten Griechen*, 1882, vol. i, p. 78 seq.

<sup>21</sup> Aristeeas is said to have lived in the third century B.C. The letter ascribed to him is of a later period. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3rd ed., 1898–1901, vol. ii, p. 468 seq., tries to prove that it was not written later than about 200 B.C.

<sup>22</sup> Cited from Friedländer, *Das Judentum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt*, 1897, pp. 30–1.

<sup>23</sup> Even the greatest Greek sages allowed vengeance on the enemy, nay, they even praised it; cf. Schmidt, ii, p. 311; W. Wundt, *Ethik*, 1912, i, p. 245, ii, p. 19. It was Plato who first taught that a man should not harm his enemy (*Staat* i, 9), but that one should love him did not even enter his mind.

<sup>24</sup> In remarkable opposition to this is *Ecclesiasticus*, xxv, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. an interesting historical proof showing that this voice could also affect wide circles of people in Stade ii, p. 523.

<sup>26</sup> A Christian savant, Dr. J. Weigl, has collected a very great number of such places from the Talmud and the writings of the rabbis; cf. J. Weigl, *Das Judentum*, 1911, pp. 92–115. Sometimes it is expressly stated that under the term "our neighbour" is meant not only Israelites but all people.

<sup>27</sup> One must bear in mind that till the last century the right to plunder the shipwrecked was allowed and even prayed for publicly in churches as a holy right, that is, they prayed for the misfortunes of their fellow men.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. especially passages like *Ecclesiasticus*, xxvi, 29; xxvii, 1–3; xxi, 4–7.

<sup>29</sup> Sombart's theory, however, deriving the origin of the capitalistic spirit from the Jewish religion is mistaken. Cf. Julius Guttman in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 149–212.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. for instance, E. v. Hartmann, *Selbstzersetzung des Christentums*, 3rd edition, p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also the excellent refutations of all these stories by two Christian theologians, Professor Ed. König, *Das antisemitische Hauptdogma*, and Franz Meffert, *Israel und der alte Orient*, 1921, p. 264.

<sup>32</sup> K. Breysig, *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit*, vol. ii, 1901, p. 678.

<sup>33</sup> So Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, who accentuates in his *Reden und Vorträge*, 1902, p. 77, that the Stoic school "was founded and represented in the beginning almost entirely by Semitic Orientals".

<sup>34</sup> Many such passages could be cited, but here one will suffice: I *Kings* iii, 9–12 (Solomon's Prayer). Furthermore there are numerous passages in the Talmud in which it is said that God's commandments must be fulfilled because they are God's, not because of reward or punishment to follow. Cf. e.g. Guttman, *a.a.O.*, p. 180.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ferdinand Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 2nd ed., 1897; Hardy, p. 96; Plato, *Staat*, x, 12, 14; Dilthey, *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation*, 1914, p. 220; Friedrich Schlegel, *Fragmente*, chosen by C. Enders, p. 34. Lamprecht, too, in his *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii, 199, is of opinion that the German mind turns exactly to reward or punishment in Heaven and Hell; as a matter of fact the principles of German law on weregild

have been taken over by religion; cf. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1898, p. 290, also Green, *Short History of the English People*, vol. i, chap. i, 3. The traffic in indulgences which caused Luther to stand up against the Pope was a direct outcome of the Teutonic idea of compensation.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. for example *Isaiah* i, 11-18; xxix, 13; xxxiii, 15; lviii, 2-7; *Ezekiel* xviii; xxxiii, 11; *Hosea* vi, 6; *Joel* ii, 12-13; *Micah* vi, 7-8; *Amos* v, 21-24; *Psalms* iv, 6; xl, 7-9; l, 8-13, 23; li, 12-19; lxi, 32 seq.; cxli, 2, and so on.

<sup>37</sup> F. Weber, p. 159; further see Guttman, p. 180.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Lazarus, *Ethik des Judentums*, 1899, pp. 189, 225. The German edition of this book exposes one of the most shameless falsifications of Chamberlain, who misquoted a statement of Montefiore concerning the points mentioned above.

<sup>39</sup> The newest and most complete description of Jewish ethics, giving extensive quotations from the sources, can be found in the works *Die Lehren des Judentums*, published with the help of many scholars by Dr. S. Bernfeld, 1922-3, three volumes, and *Soziale Ethik im Judentum*, 1918.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Lehmann in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 1897, vol. ii, p. 32.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Oldenburg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 309 seq.; Oldenburg, *Buddha*, 3rd edition, 1897, p. 195; Orelli, *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, 1899, p. 444. It may be that the German term "God" also meant originally "the Being induced to the sacrifice by a magic speech" (Schrader, *Indogermanen*, p. 146). Others deduce it from Ugroaltaic words (chodai, kutai, kut—Gott).

<sup>42</sup> The old Iranic teachings are on a far higher ethical level than most Indian religions, but here too the strongest and hardest ritualism prevails. The tongue of the Avesta knows no difference between law and religion. The holiness of work and formalism is especially great in the old Roman religion, which calmly and exclusively represents a business relationship with the gods. Nevertheless the disciplined social life of the Roman peasants produced from a moral standpoint a much higher conception of the doings of the gods than Greek mythology.

<sup>43</sup> On the power of the Indian priests, cf. J. Lippert, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Priestertums*, 1884, vol. ii, pp. 362-419; Max Weber, *Religionssoziologie*, vol. ii; furthermore on the rabbis, Max Weber, vol. iii, pp. 407 seq.

<sup>44</sup> Jainism exceeds even Christianity in extreme denial of violence of any kind, especially of the killing of even the most lowly living creature. Yet Jainism has contributed far less to the ethical discipline of the masses than Judaism and Christianity, exactly because the demands on human nature were excessive. So in this way the highest ethical strivings in India have remained restricted to a small sect.

<sup>45</sup> H. T. Buckle, *The History of Civilization in England*, 1860, i, i, pp. 69, 70. Full details will be found here.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Lassen, *a.a.O.*, vol. ii, p. 439 seq. It is even taught that Buddha can only be reborn in the two highest classes. Within the order of Buddha, caste differences were of no importance.

<sup>47</sup> Hermann Oldenburg, *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, 1897, p. 336.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. especially Eduard Lehmann in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, 1897, vol. ii, pp. 96-8.

<sup>49</sup> It is true that there are orders of nuns and religious female Buddhists, but for a long time they met with the greatest opposition and finally they held a far lower position than the monks. Even though a nun had belonged to an order for a hundred years, she would still have to bow to the youngest monk and stand up when he passes.

<sup>50</sup> Of the Hindoo religious Songs of Praise (*Stotras*), Lehmann says that "in religious value they were incomparably higher than the much praised *Veda* hymns" (*a.a.O.*, p. 138).

<sup>51</sup> Otto Pfeiderer, *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*, 3rd ed., 1896, pp. 126-7.

<sup>52</sup> The intolerance of the Spaniards Chamberlain also traces to the crossings of Semitic (Moorish) blood, though the Moors to a great extent were of Berber



stock. But all historians of this subject expressly accentuate the tolerance of the Moors against the intolerance and fanaticism of the West Goths and Spaniards. Cf. for instance Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien*, 1865, vol. ii, pp. 308, 309, or any history of the world. Spanish intolerance and bigotry can easily be explained from the history of Spain. Cf. in Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, vol. i, 1881, pp. 372, 386, 388, 394, 399, 501, 517.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. numerous proofs in Smend, *a.a.O.*, pp. 155 seq.; Stade, *a.a.O.*, vol. i, p. 508; Fishberg, *Rassenmerkmale der Juden*, 1913, p. 241.

<sup>54</sup> Chamberlain dreams when he says "the Jews avoided all crossings with Christians but they did not mind if Christians took their daughters to wife, aiming by this at getting a foothold in the hostile camp". Statistics show that Jews are marrying Christian women to a far larger extent than Christians are marrying Jewish ones (cf. Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem*, 1910, pp. 478 seq.). One is astonished at the extremely increasing number of assimilations of the Jews with their surroundings wherever there are no legal or social restrictions. In Prussia more than a fifth of the Jews have married Christians (cf. Fishberg, p. 72). The warnings against mixed marriages in the Old Testament naturally never speak of race, but always of the possibility of this causing their going over to heathenism. Chamberlain tactfully advises against "infection of the Indo-European blood with Jewish blood which will engender a herd of Hebrew Mestizoes and thus unmistakably produce a physically, mentally and morally, degenerated people".

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Yasna, 31, 17, 22 in Pfeleiderer, *a.a.O.*, p. 164. In Hellas the Persians destroyed all the temples by fire. One calls to mind also the fanatic intolerance and barbarous cruelty of the Persians against the Christians (Lehmann, pp. 208-9). Also in Islam, the Persians are more fanatic than the Arabs and Turks.

<sup>56</sup> The general validity of the social-religious connexions here sketched is shown, e.g. in the oldest American development. Everywhere and at the same time, together with the political centralization, appears also the religious. The Incas especially showed an energetic social-ethical advance and an extreme centralization. From this came their monotheism, but also their aggressive intolerant attitude towards foreign culture. Only with the commencement of their foreign policy for conquest did they become tolerant. (Cf. numerous proofs in Haebler, *Amerika in Helmholt's Weltgeschichte*, vol. i, 1899, pp. 284, 321, 324-5, etc.) In consequence of the war of destruction which the Incas carried on against all "idols" of the surrounding peoples, there developed as with the Jews, the command not to make unto themselves graven images of anything that has life.

<sup>57</sup> A word of Christ Himself has been interpreted as meaning that conversion should be compulsory. Cf. *St. Luke* xiv, 23, when the Lord says to his servants: "Compel them to come in."

<sup>58</sup> Scheichl, *Das Griechentum und die Duldung*, 1903. A. Lange, besides many others (for example Renan, Burkhardt, etc.), has accentuated the religious fanaticism among the Greeks. Cf. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus*, 1896, vol. i, pp. 4, 124-6.

<sup>59</sup> Already in *Deuteronomy* iv, 6 to 8, 32, 33, it is said that the commandments and statutes given by God would on account of their wisdom form the fame of Israel, so that the peoples will say: "Surely this is a great nation, this is a wise and understanding people." "And what nation is there so great that have statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?" And later on *Deuteronomy* vii, 7, already sounds the blame of the moralist who considers as dangerous all vanity arising from self-consciousness of one's own virtues. "Not because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all peoples, but because he would keep his oath which he had sworn to your fathers."

<sup>60</sup> Chamberlain four times (pp. 223, 224, 328, 411) gives special proof of Jewish race arrogance by asserting that even the liberal-minded Jew Philo had himself declared "that only the Israelites are men in the truest sense of the word", in this referring to Graetz. The quotation is from Philo, *De Sacrificantiis*, ii, p. 257. But the decisive word "only" was invented by Chamberlain. Philo had a special liking for the expression "true man" (cf.

e.g. *De Abrahamo*, § 2, where Philo calls those trusting in God "true men" and denied this expression to the doubting, because hope is the best that the soul possesses). In the fragments of his writings, *De Providentia*, he even says, "Only Hellas produces true men by bringing forth the heavenly growth, the wise mind" (cf. Wendland, *Philo's Schrift über die Vorsehung*, 1892, p. 81). This furthermore proves that Chamberlain had no knowledge of the most important representative of Hellenic Judaism B.C. On Philo, cf. especially Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 1881, iii, 2, p. 338 seq., and L. Treitel, *Gesammte Theologie und Philosophie Philos von Alexandrien*, 1923.

<sup>61</sup> Ferdinand Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 392. In the Talmud we find many passages of this kind. According to Weigel, it says: "I take heaven and earth to witness that all men without regard to sex, their faith and their condition, Israelite or one of another belief, slave or freedman, are competent to receive the spirit of God with devotion, if through their behaviour they are worthy of it" (*Tanade be-Eliahu*, chap. ix).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Deuteronomy* ix, 5; xviii, 10-12; xxv, 17; *Judges* 11; 2 *Kings* xvi, 3, 4. With a little patience one can find passages in which a great sovereignty is prophesied for Israel, for instance, *Deuteronomy* vi, xxviii, where it is praised as the highest among peoples. But where does exist a national literature in which the same thing does not occur? Have not all the Oriental rulers, from the smallest Indian princes to the great Egyptian kings, called themselves "ruler of the world", "king of kings", "sun among the princes", etc.? Does this prove that in truth their peoples strived for world-rule?

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Weber, *a.a.O.*, p. 385 seq.

<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, one of the foremost race-theorists, Ludwig Woltmann, maintains that the world-rule of the Pope is a masterpiece of the German genius, and that most of the popes were of Teutonic descent.

<sup>65</sup> According to Tacitus (*Germ.* 39), the Swabians seem to have had rather a theocracy. Among many tribes (Burgundians, Goths, etc.) the high priest was above the king. The passage in Chamberlain is extremely puzzling (p. 90) where he says: "Among the Teutons the king decreed what the people should believe", the *cuius regio illius religio* is a "law existing from times immemorial"! A strange historical discovery! Seeck, *Untergang der antiken Welt*, 1st ed., vol. i, p. 211, considers that Christianity among the Germans has checked the growth of theocracy.

<sup>66</sup> Chamberlain also says (p. 88 seq.) that the Reformation was entirely inspired through the Apostle Paul, and calls the root of his teachings obviously Indo-European. On the other hand, Lagarde, who often resembles Chamberlain, considers that the Apostle, "a Pharisee from head to foot," has brought the Old Testament into the Church and nearly ruined the Evangelium (P. de Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften*, 4th ed., 1903, p. 56).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Ferd. Baur, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, 2nd ed., 1863, vol. ii, p. 99.

<sup>68</sup> A. Vierkandt, *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, 1896, p. 319.

<sup>69</sup> E. Hatch, *Griechentum und Christentum*, translated by Preuschen into German, 1892, pp. 259-60.

CHAPTER X  
ARYAN AND SEMITIC CIVILIZATION  
CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

THE foundations of our modern conception of marriage and family were laid, as Chamberlain believes, by ancient Rome. On the Roman family he bestows unqualified praises: "No open-minded person," he says, "will deny that the Roman family was one of the most splendid achievements of the human spirit, one of those summits the world never attains twice, to which even the farthest centuries will lift up admiringly their eyes lest they should go too far astray from the right way." The elevated position woman holds in modern society is by no means due to Christianity, which was disintegrating, atomizing, and, as an "outflow of Judaism, an anarchical agent". "That women in Europe attained a firm, assured, and fair position was the doing of the Romans." This position is characterized by the equality of rights between man and woman in all relations not dependent on purely sexual differences, and by the "sanctity" of matrimony (p. 177). Chamberlain even believes that but for the sublime instinct of the Romans we never would have recognized woman to be an equal helpmate of man (p. 180)! All this is only true in so far that the Romans in their early times had the simple and uncorrupt customs of peasants. There is no reason to think that other primitive peoples, let us say the early Hellenes or Teutons, had a lower standard in matrimonial morals than that of earliest Rome. With the increase of civilization, however, a bad decay took place in this respect, first in Greece and afterwards in Rome. As early as 328 B.C., that is to say, in the "good old times", long before race mixing began,<sup>1</sup> there was discovered in Rome a vast conspiracy of aristocratic women who plotted to remove their husbands by poison. Not less than 170 women were sentenced, while some twenty more had killed themselves previously by taking poison (Livy, viii, 18). Facts of this kind, however, ought not to be generalized, for just in the later times one encounters in Hellas and in Rome instances of a refined and elevated conception of matrimony also.<sup>2</sup>

The entire hollowness of Chamberlain's rhetoric, however, becomes apparent when we consider what the legal conditions of



the Roman family were. It was Roman law in the first place that had an effect on all subsequent periods ; but just family law stood lowest in the whole legal system of Rome and never attained half the degree of perfection into which property law developed. Ancient Roman matrimony is in jarring contradiction to our modern feelings. The hard and trammelled position of the women in the old ceremonial form of matrimony seems quite as inadequate to us as the loose connexion of the two sexes in the more modern free matrimonies.<sup>3</sup> The position of woman to-day, owing to the social development and the moralizing influence of Christianity, is incomparably more favourable than it ever was in Rome. The legal position of children and the extent of paternal authority to-day rest nearly entirely on Germanic law, the Roman viewpoint appearing to us quite barbarous.<sup>4</sup> Our matrimonial property laws also rest entirely on Germanic principles. The Roman system of the marriage portion (dowry) stood in too clashing contrast with our notions of partnership in married life to allow of an accommodation.<sup>5</sup> Already in ancient Babylon, even in pre-Semitic times,<sup>6</sup> the legal position of women was in many respects freer and better than in Rome.

Judaism was of great moment for the formation of a higher matrimonial ideal in the ancient world, mainly because of its struggle against the religious sexual orgies widely spread both among Semites and Aryans (e.g. in the cults of Baal, Dionysus, Cybele, and in the phallus and lingam cults), and in later times through the strict limitation of sexual intercourse to legitimate matrimony both for man and woman.<sup>7</sup> This was due to the influence of ethical monotheism, and the sad political conditions of Israel gave an additional incentive to the moralists of this people to recommend withdrawal from the world<sup>8</sup> into the quiet shelter of family life. In these pre-Christian moralist writings we find monogamy presupposed without exception, pure womanhood praised, and the duty of respectable family life enjoined in the most manifold parabolic representations. Here we already see the Christian spirit developing, and it was from the *Proverbs*, from *Ecclesiasticus*, or the *Book of Ruth*, that many generations of Teutonic peoples, after Protestantism had given the Bible into their hands, drew their modest and grave views of family life<sup>9</sup> and not from Roman law. And Christianity out of its levelling, individualistic tendency, which disdained differences of sex, cast and race, proclaimed woman as equal in value with man, and this, to be sure, was not the least potent cause of its victory.

## ECONOMICS

Seventeen pages out of one thousand and four in Chamberlain's work deal with economic matters, and twenty-nine lines of these are given to the consideration of the machine whose influence upon the economic development of the world is dealt with in a few sentimental exclamations! The reason of this unusual bashfulness in him is stated by Chamberlain himself when he groans and moans: "Nothing in the world (!) is more difficult than treating general economic questions without talking nonsense. . . ." (p. 735). Then with *ostentatio nimie eruditionis* he enumerates seven political economists he has read without, however, finding in them what alone is of importance, namely (p. 821) "some vital principle unchangeable in the manifold forms of our ever-changing economic circumstances".

This is Chamberlain's so-called "Teutonic method of research". The rich fund of ideas those thinkers—Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx among them—have laid down in their works as the result of lives spent in untiring research, is discarded as trash by Chamberlain because he failed to detect in them after a glance "some principle" in support of his prejudices. He takes it for granted that "the varying forms which economic conditions assume among a determined group of men are always a direct emanation of their characters" (p. 823); peculiarities of character, however, being racial traits, are unchangeable, therefore also the economic circumstances of a nation are relatively constant (p. 833). This, of course, does not apply indiscriminately to all races; on the contrary, the Indo-Europeans "differ greatly in their economic life" from the Semites, Chinese, etc. (p. 823). In reality, however, every single page of economic science proves that just the contrary is true.<sup>10</sup> The economic and social circumstances of a people, as dependent above all on the increase of population, and on adaptation to the given environmental conditions, also have the power of transforming the moral factors rapidly and thoroughly; and with all nations under like preconditions the economic forms often develop in a strikingly similar way.<sup>11</sup> How utterly ignorant Chamberlain is as regards economic history appears from his assertion that the Teutons from an inborn instinct of co-operation developed the institution of the guilds, and that, but for this instinct, they would have become just such slaves as the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Byzantines, Mohammedans, etc., were. In reality, however, there existed guild-like organizations in Babylon and

Egypt, in the "racial chaos" of the later Rome, in Byzantium, and also within Islam. A notorious fact also is the great power of the Chinese guilds.<sup>12</sup>

It is needless to say that Chamberlain's fair and equitable opinion of the Semites becomes peculiarly conspicuous when he treats economic matters. Owing to their race instincts the Jews have been from the remotest times money-lenders, horse-dealers, and such like. True, it was not in the Middle Ages only that the Jews learned business, but it is likewise true that they were tillers of the ground already at a very early period of their history, and that for a long time they stuck tenaciously to agricultural life. The tendency of their law was hostile to trade and money-lending, the prohibition of lending money on interest in the Roman Church and in Islam is founded on the Mosaic law.<sup>13</sup> In later times Palestine's trade was fairly monopolized by the Phœnicians,<sup>14</sup> who exported the agrarian products of the country, namely, wheat, barley, olive oil, honey, wine, dates, balm, besides linen and asphalt (*Ezekiel* xxvii, 17). That Jewish elements in later times preferentially turned towards trading was due to several causes: firstly, Palestine was the bridge between the great empires of South-Western Asia and Egypt, as there the caravan routes of traffic converged; secondly, the home country of the Jews was but of scanty fertility, a land of barren hills and sand unable to feed an ever increasing population.<sup>15</sup> Those who could not make a living at home were compelled to go to a foreign country. In pre-Christian times Jewish mercenary soldiers, renowned for their faithfulness, were in great demand at the courts of kings and princes until later on the supply was stopped through the growing predilection for trade and the devastation of Palestine. When these hardy and laborious sons of the hills and desert took to trading they easily outdid the less fit dwellers of the plains. For the same reason Switzerland for centuries has sent abroad her most efficient and enterprising children, first as soldiers, and afterwards as commercial men who established the international industrial reputation of their country. In France, Italy, etc., the Swiss play a similar rôle to the Jews in Central Europe, having through industry, skill and frugality achieved great riches and a great position in the economic life of those countries.<sup>16</sup> The Scotch also, lacking elbow-room in their poor hill country, went abroad, first as mercenaries and then as traders, and now they control English economic life to such an extent that they are generally called "the Jews of England". The Armenian too descended from his towering mountains to become the smartest



trader of the whole of South-Western Asia, and from over-populated China many Chinese have gone forth and become the middlemen of the shores of the Pacific, while the main stock of the people at home continue to till the ground. Lastly, it was the Babylonian captivity which brought the Jews to the trade centre of the old world, where they profited by the efficient schooling offered. They looked with surprise at that "country of traders" and at the "trader city" Babylon (*Ezekiel* xvii, 4). To the prophets evidently this trend of evolution could not but seem distasteful. Even as late as in Hellenistic time, when Jews exercised their profession of traders in all places abroad, the moralists declaimed against them,<sup>17</sup> and the great majority of the Palestine Jews continued to till the ground as their fathers did. That those Jews who, as traders, came to the newly opened parts of Europe and settled there in the midst of less civilized populations could and would not turn to craftsmanship and farming does not seem strange. In the North of Europe the handicrafts developed only a thousand years later. In the more advanced Mediterranean countries the Jews were predominantly craftsmen, and remained so for a long time.

The commercial superiority of the Jews in as yet little developed countries depends on their position as aliens dwelling dispersed over many countries, while at the same time they are bound together by family ties and by the solidarity of their religion. Everywhere and at all times it was aliens that first broke the economic traditions of a country and opened up new routes. A very close analogy to the commercial position of the Jews in the Middle Ages is offered by the German Hansa and their foreign trade. The German traders abroad were organized on a co-operative basis and backed up each other in every way so that the populations among whom they lived used to complain about their solidarity. These foreign German traders strictly abstained from anything but business relations with the people they lived among; and this, of course, could not but increase the hatred of the natives against the haughty strangers. The more backward a country was, the more profitable did these German traders find business in it. In Flanders and in Venice they were less successful than at Bergen or Nishni-Novgorod. One of their favourite means of getting a firm hold on a country was the lending of money to the princes. In England, at times, the entire trade lay in the hands of Germans; the English kings who could not obtain money from Parliament raised loans from German traders and in turn bestowed privileges upon them. As a matter of course the expulsion of these foreigners was demanded

vehemently, and also obtained when inland trade had developed sufficiently and Parliament was strong enough to enforce its will. Exactly the same development took place as regards the trade of the Lombards. Furthermore, the popular dislike of the Jews can be traced to professional and trade jealousies. This has been graphically described by Professor Roscher.<sup>18</sup> In the case of the Jews the situation was still more aggravated through the fact of their greater versatility, derived from a thousand years of civilization as contrasted to the more ponderous habits of their surroundings. On account of their religion they were not admitted to guilds and corporations and therefore could not exercise any of the arts, while the money-lending trade became their monopoly on account of the ecclesiastical prohibition against Christians lending money on interest. Last of all there was the policy of the princes. According to Teutonic law the aliens of a land, together with all their goods and chattels, stood under the personal patronage of the sovereign: they were his property. Thus, for instance, in England the Jews were not even allowed to grant easy terms to their debtors, for by this they would have prejudiced the king's property! A favourite method of levying taxes in those times was to squeeze the Jew, who, in his turn, had to squeeze his debtors, whereby he was left to bear the odium of a bloodsucker. On the other hand, it is true, in many countries the Jews also enjoyed facilities and trade privileges<sup>19</sup> just like the Hanseates.

#### EVOLUTION OF RIGHT AND LAW

"Ultimately," Chamberlain enlightens us, "the laws of a country will be formed by two factors, namely by the moral character of the people that form it and by the analytical acumen of this same people" (p. 164). Roman law, he says, took birth in "a happy blend" of both these factors. Somewhat previous to this (p. 123) he names the Roman state as the precondition for the development of Roman law, but he soon gets off the right track. Roman law, in fact, is the natural and self-evident product of the Roman state, and no innate tendencies of a moral or intellectual nature are needed to explain it. The development of Roman law kept pace exactly with the development of the state, its social structure at home, and its expansion abroad. A universal empire needs universal laws; the Roman legionary and colonist could not be expected to live under Syrian or Greek law any more than justice could be administered to the provincials on the obsolete forms of the XII

Tables. The greatest of all authorities, Th. Mommsen, has confuted the legend of the peculiar aptitude of the Romans for legal matters.<sup>20</sup> A glance at the "extraordinarily wavering and undeveloped Roman criminal law", he says, "will convince us of the untenableness of this vague notion," etc. A particularly nice sense of justice, one should suppose, would above all develop perfect criminal laws where life and limbs and the moral order of society are at stake, and not civil laws whose object is the protection of private egotism. Slavery and political factions, however, always prevented the Romans from developing a satisfactory system of penal laws.

Such obvious facts did not prevent Chamberlain from expostulating upon his "innate tendencies". The Semites lacked the moral basis and the Germans the acumen for developing law. As regards the acumen of the Romans, it suffices to quote Mommsen's remark that "they at no time distinguished themselves in the mathematical and mechanical sciences", and that their computation of the calendar gave evidence of their "barbarian indifference" to chronometry. When at last the Greek calendar was introduced (263 B.C.) it happened that the sundial erected in the Forum was one originally constructed for the city of Catania, situated 4° more south, and the Romans during the whole of the next century took their time from this imperfect instrument, evidently a striking proof of racial acumen in them. Even the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, in vogue until the Gregorian improvement, failed to come up in exactness to the methods of time measurement of the old Maya peoples in Central America.<sup>21</sup> Häbler is of the opinion that the arithmetical notation also of these Indians was superior in exactness to the Greek and Roman systems. Chamberlain's observation as to the Germans lacking acumen for developing a legal system might be completed in the spirit of the race theorists by the statement that the ancient Teutons lacked "constructive genius", for otherwise they would already have invented the steam engine.

Now what about the "moral foundations"? That in this the Semites were deficient is agreed to by Chamberlain from their disregard of the human rights of freedom and from their "atrocious habits of usury" (p. 170). Then Rome was without blemish in this respect? There is not one specialist in Roman history who does not emphasize ruthless avarice as a predominant feature of the Roman character. "*Le fond du caractère romain n'était pas l'amour de la guerre, c'était l'amour de l'argent*", says one of the most prominent among them.<sup>22</sup> Mommsen points this out again and



again.<sup>23</sup> "The claim of a creditor once acknowledged became so prepotent that there was no salvation for the poor defaulter, no humane and fair consideration for his distress," and so forth. "The fortune of a widow may decrease," wrote Cato in the rules of life set down for his son, "a man, however, ought to increase his fortune, and praiseworthy and full of the divine spirit is he whose account books at the end of this life show that he has acquired more than he inherited." At Rome, says Polybius, nobody ever gives anything to anybody except on obligation, and nobody pays a penny previous to the day on which it is due, not even to his nearest kinsman. The exploitation of the slaves, as also of the provinces, went to the extreme limits of the possible. Defaulting debtors were tortured, flourishing cities such as Carthage and Corinth were destroyed for sheer commercial rivalry (Mommsen, ii, p. 40). Business people applied for posts as public functionaries, bought commissions and ambassadorial posts for the mere sake of enforcing payment of their outstanding debts. An honourable banker to whom the city of Salamis of Cyprus refused the payment of a debt blockaded the town hall of that city until five of the council died of hunger. "The central doctrine of the slave state, namely, that the rich man who lives on the labour of his slaves is of necessity respectable, and the poor man living by the sweat of this brow is of necessity low, was nowhere accepted with such dire determination as the incontrovertible foundation of the entire public and private intercourse as in Rome," says Mommsen. And Professor Ihering pointed out how the plutocratic tendency of the Roman law changed the apparent equality of rights into a real and very sensible inequality. Through the high stakes in sacramental lawsuits the poor were handicapped in obtaining justice, and offences more common among the poor classes were punished much more severely than those of the rich.<sup>24</sup> "Justice in ancient Rome," he says, "has several weights, light ones for the rich, heavy ones for the poor" (p. 412). As late as in the time of the emperors, discrimination was made between offenders of high and of low birth.

Evidently, however, it is not the question here of "racial traits" of the Romans, but firstly of the general phenomenon of peasant avarice enhanced in later times to monstrous proportions through the psychological reflex of class differentiation and slavery.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AMONG SEMITES AND ARYANS

Let us go back to Chamberlain. "The disregard of the legitimate claims and the freedom of others is a characteristic trait in all

peoples with considerable Semite strains in their blood. In the earliest times of Babylonia there already existed a very detailed trade legislation, but not one stipulation is found in it to check the atrocious habits of usury,<sup>25</sup> and far from securing human rights, such as freedom, this was not even imagined." The "habits of usury" are illustrated by the fact that the usual rate of interest in Babylonia was between 20 and 25 per cent. Chamberlain forgets to mention that with the Aryan Indians (*Manu* viii, 140, 142, and the interpretations of Kulluka) a Brahmin was allowed to take 24 per cent and a Sudra 60 per cent.<sup>26</sup> Besides, with regard to rates of interest, post-war experiences have taught us many a thing of which we were previously unaware.

What the conditions of human rights in Rome were appears from the above quoted statements of Mommsen and Ihering. Ihering points out how mildly offences against the person were punished in ancient Rome, while the inviolability of property was secured with ruthless severity. Sexual violence and illegal detention are not even specially mentioned in the penal laws of ancient Rome. The rich landowner maiming one of his bondsmen was fined but 300 as. Sexual violence committed against his maid-servant cost him at most 25 as. And, contrariwise, anyone caught pilfering even the smallest trifle (Gaius names as examples olives or grapes), or in whose house the stolen goods were found, had to atone for it by bodily chastisement and by loss of liberty; he became the slave of the one he had robbed. Stealing crops was punishable by death. The subsequent developments brought about a change in the relation between the protection of person and of property. Social advance and the shifting of political power from the patricians to the plebeians raised the appreciation of the individual and lowered that of property.

An interesting illustration for Chamberlain's assertion respecting the state of things in Babylonia is found in the famous laws of Hammurabi, who ruled over Babylon about the year 2250 B.C.<sup>27</sup> In the introduction the king enumerates his glorious achievements, all of them works of civilization, such as building temples, construction of aqueducts, promotion of agriculture, suppression of robbery, mildness against conquered cities, so that the proud attributes this sovereign adopted seem fully justified, namely, Hammurabi the sublime God-fearing prince, chosen to enforce law in the country, to destroy the wicked and evildoer, that the strong should not harm the feeble, and that the people should live in prosperity, and so forth.

These laws in their casuistic wording often resemble those of the XII Tables, but in many respects they unmistakably show traits of greater humanity, while from a purely juridical point of view their superiority is incontestable, as seems quite natural in view of the far more advanced civilization of Babylon as contrasted to early Rome. It is true that the legislation of Hammurabi ordains capital punishment for crimes such as theft, robbery, calumny, false witness, desertion, etc., failing money compensation, but on the other hand in the case of failure of the crops a debtor is entitled to a remission of interest payment (Art. 48), a social measure such as the Roman law never knew. Farm rent may be paid in kind on the basis of the royal tariff (Art. 51). The conditions of subtenancy are regulated in a sense favourable to the worker (Art. 60 *et seq.*). If a creditor fraudulently denies a payment received from his debtor he is twice as severely punished as a debtor who denies his debt (Art. 107). Domestic morals are severe. As contrasted to Rome, a husband is not allowed to keep concubines without the consent of his wife (Art. 144), and should he want a divorce from his wife who has borne him children he is under the obligation of paying alimony to her (Art. 137). While in Rome a father might have sold his son at will, this was not allowed in Babylon, where a father was not allowed to disown his son except on legal grounds. In case of a grievous offence on the part of the son, he should be once pardoned, and only on committing the same offence a second time could he be disowned (Art. 169). The position of illegitimate children, whether of freemen or of slaves, was much more favourable than in Rome (171); the concubine slaves, after the death of their master, were freed, together with their children, and had the right to continue living in his house. The principle that if one of the partners in a marriage was of inferior rank to the other the children were to be of the inferior rank is departed from in many cases (175). Labour is protected by fixed wages. A comparison between the Roman and the Babylonian manner of treating defaulting debtors may well end this short survey. At the outset of the early Roman legislation regarding debtors stands the institution of the "nexum", dramatically used by Shakespeare in his *Merchant of Venice*. A defaulting debtor became without further ado the prisoner of his creditor. Table III<sup>28</sup> lays down the manner of his treatment: "He is to be fettered with a rope or with a fifteen pound chain, not with a lighter one; with a heavier one he may be fettered if desired by the creditor." If the imprisoned debtor is unable to provide food for himself the creditor is bound to give him a daily



minimum of one pound of flour, and as this was hardly sufficient to keep up life the law appointed laconically: "Si volet, plus dato." If the prisoner was not redeemed after a specified period he was sold abroad as a slave, or killed. The creditors also had the right to cut the defaulter to pieces and each to take his proportional share of the body. "After three *nundinæ*" (twenty-seven days), says Table III, "he is to be cut to pieces<sup>29</sup>; and if they cut off more or less (than is their share) it shall not matter." Had Shylock been wary enough to make such stipulations in his bond, the wisdom of Portia would have been of little use. In contrast to this unrelenting formalism, Articles 116-19 of Hammurabi's table are of a remarkable humanity. The defaulter, together with his wife, son and daughter, has to serve the creditor for a period of three years, after which he is again free; and during this time the law protects him against grave ill-treatment.

Thus we cannot accede to Chamberlain's view respecting the disregard of all human rights in Babylon as compared to early Rome. With regard to the tendency of Jewish legal views respecting property and usury, we shall quote only one authority, viz. Houston Stewart Chamberlain himself: "Here (in Israel)," he says, "men from the very midst of the people dared to stigmatize the princes of this earth as a pack of thieves and to cry 'woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth'. This conception of right, to be sure, was far from that of the Romans, to whom nothing was more sacred than property" (Chamberlain, p. 47). Yet the Jews, according to the same author, lacked the moral foundations for developing rights that the Romans possessed!

Whatever is best in Roman law did not have its origin in Latium: it came from contact with the world abroad. The Romans incorporated in their own laws whatever they found—the result of a thousand years' ethical and juridical evolution of so many other peoples—and what by international traffic and intercourse had been sanctioned and approved; and at the same time they cleared their own laws of all national exclusiveness. Thus their laws developed in fact into an expression of "general reason" or "common sense" as far as this was possible, considering the social conditions of the ancient world. Chamberlain, as he often does, simply turns the entire historical development upside down. "From the very beginning," he says, "right has been felt and thought in Rome with infinite subtlety," an assertion which is

confuted by a single glance at the fragments of early Roman law. It is absurd to believe that the Roman tillers of the ground five centuries B.C. were so thoroughly versed in law (as Chamberlain asserts so assuredly, p. 169) as to discriminate the cases where the law for the protection of rights of possession was to be applied even in the absence of property. For Roman law, despite the XII Tables, was in reality for a very long time a secret law carefully kept dark by the aristocratic priests with the view of holding those who sought justice in subjection. In particular, protection of the right of possession was the product of a much later epoch. On the other hand, Chamberlain tries to belittle the Roman law of the imperial epoch, which in effect was the very culmination of Roman law development. As early as the "classical epoch" he smells the "Asiatic" influence, and poor Gaius, of whose personality we know absolutely nothing (only his name has come down to us), is declared by him to have been a Jew.

#### PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF RIGHT AND LAW AMONG DIFFERENT RACES

Our disquisition has shown that Roman law can by no means be considered as the result of a special racial aptitude on the part of the Romans. Chamberlain assures us that there exists such a thing as a "mental, spiritual and intellectual Aryanism" (p. 122) as "contrasted to a mental, spiritual and intellectual non-Aryanism", and this contrast finds its keenest expression in law. Let us now, in order to verify the negative result obtained by comparing a few Aryan and Semite legal maxims,<sup>30</sup> adduce the opinion of a leading ethnologist, Ferdinand von Andrian, who in expressing his own view refers also to that of Professor Post, the founder of, and first authority in, the science of ethnological jurisprudence. Speaking of this, Andrian says<sup>31</sup>: "The result of these studies, as far as can be seen now, fully coincides with the assumption of the universal validity of psychical dispositions. That the most important and most fundamental social forms are independent of race has been recognized by this time as an incontrovertible axiom. Identical legal customs—very queer ones in some cases—says Post, turn up with an almost astonishing consistency among peoples who in other respects differ widely from each other and with whom these laws could not but have been original. Therefore it is practically hopeless to draw inferences from the laws of a people as to their derivation. According to Dargun, the family laws of all several peoples bear the same likeness to each other as the speeches of one

and the same language family, for instance the Aryan languages." Post <sup>32</sup> says the same thing: "The very identical elements of organization are met with among peoples which never, beyond peradventure, had any social contact with each other, so that reciprocal adoptions seem entirely out of the question. The unity of mankind manifests itself by this in a most striking manner," etc.

#### FOUNDATIONS OF FORMATION OF STATES

Freedom and loyalty, according to Chamberlain, are essential for the formation of states, and these two qualities are peculiar characteristics of the Aryan, more properly of the Teutonic, race. The Semites and Jews are, of course, deficient in them, and the Semites also on the one hand, by their servility, gave birth to the notion of "being subject" and thereby caused all despotism, and on the other hand, on account of their disloyalty, were never able to form a state of any considerable duration—which two statements seem rather to contradict each other. That in India, Iran,<sup>33</sup> ancient Rome, Russia, etc., there ever existed such a thing as despotism Chamberlain has never heard. The Semites, on account of their disloyalty, never formed lasting states, but where in all the world, excepting China and Egypt, was there found a state development which as to duration can be likened to the Babylonian empires? <sup>34</sup> Carthage also as a state played a very estimable rôle. Polybius puts its constitution on a level with that of Rome, highly as he extols the latter. Aristotle says, to the praise of Carthage, that "there never arose revolts of any importance in it, nor tyrants".<sup>35</sup> (According to Chamberlain the Semites have no political aptitude, they incline either to "despotism or to anarchy", p. 503.) Cato, the grim enemy of the Carthaginians, said of their administration in Spain, as introduced there by Hamilcar, that no king deserved to be named by the side of Hamilcar Barca's.<sup>36</sup> Chamberlain, on the other hand, calls the Semites absolute robbers who displayed a civilizing activity only in so far as they had an enviable gift of catching at new ideas in order to make money out of them, and of fostering artificial wants in other peoples in the interest of their own trade (p. 137). As for the rest, they deprived even their own nearest kin of all human rights and never organized anything but taxes and unrelenting servitude; and when they obtained a footing in any country, having only commercial objects in view, they never strove to civilize that country or to establish order therein, but left it in the main as barbarous as they had found it.



Chamberlain finds disloyalty particularly shameful in the Jews as it went hand in hand with base ingratitude. By incessant upheavals they forced mild and gentle ruling Rome, whose government was but a benefit to them, to destroy Jerusalem (pp. 138-42). Even blacker ingratitude they manifested in Spain. "Just under the reign of that Visigoth king who heaped benefits upon them they called the kindred Arabs over from Africa and betrayed their generous protector, without hatred, only just because they hoped to profit by it" (p. 334), whereupon they also worked the ruin of the Moorish state. If we single out for close examination this one sentence which contains almost as many adulterations as words, we do it in order to avoid the disagreeable task of confuting every several purposeful "creation" Chamberlain puts forth as "illustrative" for his theses. This one proof of Chamberlain's "free creative" power will suffice: (1) He passes over in silence the continual and exceedingly cruel persecutions the Jews had to suffer in the Visigoth kingdom, not perhaps by the mob, but at the hands of the Church and State itself, persecutions which well might have kindled resentment in the hearts of the sufferers; (2) the alleged benefits heaped upon the Jews by King Vitica in reality are said to have consisted in the abolition of some oppressive measures; (3) some historical authorities consider it probable that these abolitions in reality never took place but were only imputed to the king by his detractors. In fact, all Gothic kings in Spain not utterly submissive to the Church were accused by the clergy of Jewish sympathies; (4) the alleged treason of the Jews has never been authenticated; (5) the real traitors, as tradition says, on good grounds, are to be sought among the Visigoth aristocracy, the names and motives of the traitors have been likewise handed down by tradition. By the way, it may be mentioned here that the Arabian rule in Spain was greatly superior, culturally, to that of the Visigoths, for it brought forth a florescence of art, science and civilization such as was unheard of elsewhere in the world at that time, and to which our modern culture is more indebted than is known generally.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER X

<sup>1</sup> Apart from race crossings out of which Rome originated.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Nestle, *Euripides, der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung*, 1901, p. 251 seq., and M. Schneidewin, *Die antike Humanität*, 1897, p. 175 seq.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman jurists at times use the term "human beings and women". With regard to marriage fidelity, man and woman were not considered equal. The woman could be put to death for infidelity and even if she drank wine. (*Fontes juris Romani antiqui*, ed. Bruns, editio sexta, 1893, para. 1, p. 6.) The man, on the other hand, could commit adultery with the wife of another man without punishment. As Ihering rightly remarks, this is a natural consequence of the slave trade. Only since Christian times has fidelity on the part of the man been postulated and slavery discountenanced. (Ihering, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Rechtes*, 1894, p. 76.)

How little a woman enjoyed the same rights as the man is shown also in the fact of her being under tutelage the whole of her life. Till the law decreed by Emperor Claudius, even a mother came under the tutelage of her sons after the death of her husband. Exactly the later laws of that period which Chamberlain designates a "race chaos" brought with them many advances. Professor Czyhlarz, *Lehrbuch der Institutionen des römischen Rechts*, 1893, p. 222, maintains: "In the Empire of Rome satisfactory laws consonant with the true spirit of marriage were never made."

<sup>4</sup> Hadrian was the first to punish the killing of a son with banishment, and even Constantine allowed the selling of new-born children *propter nimiam paupertatem*.

<sup>5</sup> Bruns (Holtzendorff's *Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*, 5th ed., 1890, p. 533) says that when the wife brought no money into the marriage, whereto she was not obliged, the husband was not obliged to provide aliment for her. He could allow her to starve to death; then, however, he was compelled to pay the funeral expenses.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. S. Landesdorfer, *Die Kultur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 1913, p. 118 seq.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Max Weber, vol. iii, pp. 204, 420, and so on.

<sup>8</sup> Cf., for example, *Ecclesiasticus* vii, 4-8.

<sup>9</sup> Cf., for example, Walter von der Vogelweide's poem, *Solomons Lehre*; on Solomon, see also Mathias Claudius, *Wandsbecker Bothe*, 1782, iv, part, p. 170. The great poet, Richard Dehmel, compares *The Book of Ruth* to a very "treasure-house of old German true-heartedness, honesty, and tenderness" (cf. Dehmel, *Betrachtungen über Kunst, Gott und die Welt*, p. 178).

<sup>10</sup> The sociologist Professor Richard Michel says (*Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, 1914, part ii, p. 101, chapter on "Wirtschaft und Rasse"): "It must be said that at least according to the present state of our knowledge of these relations, inborn ethnic qualities (race qualities) as an essential element of economic qualification are not proveable." For this the writer brings copious evidence.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. for details Max Weber, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Abriss der universalen Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, edited by Hellmann and Palli, 1923. Of course there are many historical singularities and divergencies; but it would be absurd to pretend that all races developed on exactly the same lines. Our thesis only requires the proof that even physically quite different races in many instances show parallels which would not be possible if their mental constitution were entirely different too.

<sup>12</sup> In later Rome there were something like a hundred craft guilds. Cf. Breysig, ii, 513, 612, 1080-1040; Hartmann, p. 217.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. *Exod.* xxii, 25; *Deut.* xxiii, 19, and many parallel passages. From how late a date this often quoted verse (*Deut.* xxviii, 12) is, is shown by the *vaticinium ex eventu* in verse 30 seq. Further, cf. chap. vii of the present work.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Beer, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Welthandels*, 1860, vol. i, 47; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 4th ed., 1901, p. 86. In *Isaiah* xlv, 14, the Egyptians are described as traders.

<sup>15</sup> Wellhausen, p. 85. It was considered a religious duty among the Jews to have a large family.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. especially P. H. Schmidt, *Die schweizerischen Industrien im internationalen Konkurrenzkampf*, 1912, p. 89 seq.

<sup>17</sup> With reference to all this, cf. Wellhausen, pp. 86, 87, 203. Further, *Ecclesiasticus* xxvi, 29; xxvii, 1-2. "A business man can only with difficulty protect himself from doing wrong and a shopkeeper from sinning; for the sake of vain riches many do wrong, and those who desire to become rich turn their eyes aside (from God). As nail in the wall is driven between two stones, so is sin between a seller and a buyer." Cf. also xxix, 11-14, xxxi, 4-7, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Roscher, *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft aus dem geschichtlichen Standpunkt*, 3rd ed., 1878, vol. ii, p. 334 seq., and Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, 1911, and the often quoted criticism of Julius Guttman on Sombart's theories.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the introductory chapter on the principles of law concerning Jews in Europe by J. F. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-östr. Ländern*, 1901, pp. 1-105; further Otto Stubbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, 3rd ed., 1923. With regard to England cf. Traill and Mann, *Social England*, 1902, vol. i, p. 665 seq.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 4th ed., 1865, vol. i, pp. 438, 440; iii, p. 480.

<sup>21</sup> Häbler in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, 1899, vol. i, pp. 230, 240.

<sup>22</sup> Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, 2nd ed., 1877, vol. i, p. 308.

<sup>23</sup> Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i, pp. 161, 273, 297, 846 seq., especially 860 seq., vol. ii, pp. 78, 400 seq., 504 seq., 528, etc. Professor Vierkandt (p. 327) opines: "The entire national mind of the Romans is foreign to the Aryan spirit and without any inner relationship to it, while on the other hand it has a certain inner relationship with the Semitic manner of thinking." Naturally, greed for money is only found among the Semites.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ihering, *Scherz und Ernst in der Jurisprudenz*, 7th ed., 1898, "Reich und Arm im altrömischen Zivilprozess" (pp. 175-232, 408-25). Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, iv, p. 102, calls Roman law "a law formed clearly for the purpose of the highest economical egoism, fundamentally a law closed against conscience and morality." This goes too far, in our opinion.

<sup>25</sup> Quite wrong. In Babylonia interest was restricted and fixed.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. further examples in Kohler, *Indisches Obligations- und Pfandrecht*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, iii, p. 176; Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, 1895, vol. ii, pp. 640-1 seq.

<sup>27</sup> *The Laws of Hammurabi*, translated by Dr. Hugo Winkler, 2nd ed., 1903 (in *The Old Orient*, edited by the Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, iv, 4).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Fontes juris Romani antiqui*, ed. Bruns, 1893, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> In all probability these means were used to frighten creditors who could not agree upon the forced sales.

<sup>30</sup> An exhaustive comparison between old Teutonic and old Semitic law is given by Professor Dr. H. Fehr in his *Hammurabi und das salische Recht* (1910, p. 143). He shows an astonishing amplitude of conformity, and concludes that in the formation of laws, supernatural elements, that is to say, powers independent of nation and race, play a much greater part than the historical law school had till then accepted. The uniformity of law, in spite of the sharp inequality of race, can only be explained by a common human basis.

<sup>31</sup> Ferdinand v. Andrian, *Einige Resultate der modernen Ethnologie*, in *Korbl.* xxvi, 1895, p. 38.

<sup>32</sup> Post, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, 1889, Vorrede. The same, Vierkandt, p. 97.

<sup>33</sup> The slavish adoration of the kings among the old Aryan Persians was regarded by the Greeks with disgust. It is also to be found in India. Even in our times the servility of the Persians has often been emphasized in comparison with the democratic spirit of the Arabians. Cf. Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, 1868, pp. 17, 33, 34, 360, 363 seq.



<sup>34</sup> Th. Lindner, *Geschichtsphilosophie*, 1904, pp. 109, 113, refutes the assumption that the Semites are wanting in ability for the formation of great states, and finds this inability rather a quality of the Indogermans. He considers this is due to their individualism.

The supposition that the Jews are by nature revolutionary, too, is extremely doubtful. The entire conservative policy of Prussia is based on the theories of the baptized Jew Stahl. In England Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) gave new life to the Conservative Party and made it rise to power. This great statesman says, concerning the conservative feature among the Jews: "All the tendencies of the Jewish race are conservative, their bias is to religion, property and natural aristocracy." (Beaconsfield, *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, p. 357.)

<sup>35</sup> Aristotle, *Politik*, ii, 8.

<sup>36</sup> Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i, p. 573. Herder (*Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, xiv, 3) says: "With Carthage fell a state which the Romans were never able to replace. Commerce vanished from her seas and pirates soon held her place. Corn-rich Africa under Roman rule was not what it had been for so long a time under Carthage. The shores and plains of this beautiful land remain silent and sad, for the Romans robbed them first of their culture."

## CHAPTER XI

### ON RACIAL CAPACITY FOR PROGRESS

#### CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE RACES

IT is a common feature of all race theorists to discourse on the hopelessly low moral and intellectual standard of primitive peoples to whom all capability for a true assimilation of European culture—let alone enriching civilization through their own achievements—is for ever denied. Some of them even venture so far as to propose the introduction of a new system of serfdom in the colonies. Modern ethnology, however, proves more and more clearly that such opinions are not at all trustworthy.<sup>1</sup> Just the best authorities have often shown favourable pictures of the life and character of primitive peoples—favourable even from the point of view of our European civilization, though it must not be taken for granted that our own cultural ideals are necessarily the best ones. Apart from this, it is intended here to give only a cursory account of the brighter side of their cultural life which, under favourable conditions, any race might develop. Naturally, there are dark spots also, such as occur in all races because they have their roots in the common nature of mankind.

The typical psychical contrasts between primitive and civilized societies have been made evident by A. Vierkandt in a most exhausting and observant study. The primitives he characterizes as being moved preponderantly by unconscious, instinctive, and involuntary forces, by passions, sensuality, and playful waste of energy; they lack forethought, are passive, fickle, and inconsistent. The individual is of little account, man is subordinate to nature. Progress towards culture consists in a growing spirituality and steadiness of character, control of self and of nature, development of free individuality. This evolution, however, bears in itself certain peculiar dangers, jeopardizing the aims of culture. He asserts that the differences are by no means vital, and that primitive peoples also may attain full civilization (pp. 76, 335). Thurnwald calls attention to their deficiency in analytical and abstract thought, energy of thinking, critical faculty, logical discipline, and adaptability, their leaning towards coercive, conventional ideas. Preuss, Levy-Brühl, and others lay stress on

the magic, mystic, collective character of primitive thinking. Many of these traits, however, are also found among civilized peoples and are especially characteristic of the psychology of nationalism, which in general superabounds in intellectual and moral atavisms.

The religious notions of primitive peoples appear to us as full of inordinate imagination and gross superstitions. Yet recent research by A. Lang and others has made the surprising discovery that the notion of a supreme deity is also found in peoples at a very early stage of civilization, though this particular deity is mostly imagined as enthroned so high as not to take any care of the things of this earth and laying no claim to worship. Some authorities even go so far as to speak of a primitive monotheism, which to us, however, does not seem to be quite adequate.<sup>2</sup>

We know many "low" races who hold woman high, who live in monogamous matrimony, and whose sexual life is very strict. Love and care for children, especially, is often very accentuated. There are Negroes who would be amazed at the thought of striking a child. Tender care for the old and feeble is also often met with. Gobineau maintained that the sense of honour is proper only to the Aryans. As contrasted to this we hear of the exaggerated sense of honour of the Fijians, some Negro tribes, the Bedouins, Tungusians, and others. It is said of the Tungusians that affairs of honour and ensuing duels are of frequent occurrence among them, even between near relatives. The chivalrous Red Indian is the favourite hero of our boys. The accounts given by travellers of their hospitality, courage, fidelity, truthfulness, and other noble characteristics are so well known that they hardly need to be mentioned here.

Leo Frobenius, with deep penetration and intuition, has discovered the soul of Africa. He has given us a gay and variegated picture of chivalry and minstrelsy in the region between Senegal and Timbuctoo, where Hamites and Negroes have fused into one race, a picture which strongly reminds one of the Teutonic-Romance period of chivalry in our own Middle Ages; some traits even point towards early connexions between the North of Europe and Central Africa, as, for instance, when the thunder-god with his team of bucks careers through the heavens. Their animal fables also have a striking resemblance to our *Reynard the Fox* and other stories.<sup>3</sup>

In considering despotism and servility among the Negroes we often forget that the rule of the chiefs in Africa is restricted by traditions and public opinion, frequently equivalent to a real



share of the people in the government. In the kingdom of Lunda the sovereign is always attended by a body of retainers whose duty it is to prevent him from getting drunk or smoking, lest he then commit atrocities—a primitive form of constitutionalism. Among some of the African tribes the sovereign power rests with the assembly of the tribesmen, just as in the Teutonic institutions described by Tacitus.<sup>4</sup>

A fine sense of justice among Negroes has often been mentioned. Among the Galla a thief caught in the act of stealing has to pay double the value of the thing stolen. If, however, he has acted under the stress of hunger, he is set free. The Romans, whose XII Tables punished the thief with flogging followed by slavery, knew no leniency in cases where distress was the motive. Chamberlain, as a proof of his assertion that the Semites are all incapable of developing justice and law, points with scorn to the Arabs in Central Africa who, in his opinion, are at the lowest stage as regards a sense of justice. Ratzel, however, to the contrary, finds just in the Arabs of Central Africa a peculiar "sensibility to injustice" (ii, 431). Professor Myers says he could quote many instances of self-control in primitive peoples such as might well put people of civilized races to shame.<sup>5</sup>

Many primitive peoples are superior in cleanliness to the average Europeans. A great many take their daily bath; Negroes will sit for hours after each meal cleansing their teeth with their "msuaki", a kind of toothbrush used even by the poorest of them, while there are Europeans still ignorant of such an implement.<sup>6</sup>

Most remarkable in many "savages" is their artistic sense; their productions are often surprising.<sup>7</sup> In many cases their taste is superior to that of the average European, says Ratzel (vol. i, p. 69), who also informs us that their instinctive fondness for artistic things is greater than ours (Ratzel, p. 465). The great Pangerman historian Treitschke says<sup>8</sup>: "You may judge of the nobility of a nation according to whether art or comfort had priority in its cultural development." According to this, the Romans, who boasted of aqueducts, cloacas, high roads, etc., but had no art of their own, were less noble than the Eskimos, the aborigines of Australia, Red Indians, Negroes, etc.; whose poverty is yet adorned by astonishing achievements in the decorative arts. The wandering huntsmen are in this respect greatly superior to the settled tiller of the ground, which proves that the artistic instinct depends on the economic development of the people, and not on some mystic cultural giftedness or "nobility of the nation".

One of the best experts, Professor Hoernes, who, by the way, himself sometimes shows a certain bias towards race theories, states: "The uniformity of the products of low artistic stages in the most different epochs and countries stands in contrast to the heterogeneousness of the human races and proves that racial peculiarities had no decisive influence on primitive art development."<sup>9</sup>

What an abundance of ingenious devices is found among primitive peoples! They have hanging bridges measuring three hundred feet and more in length. Even wireless telegraphy was devised by primitive peoples long before Europeans thought of it. Africans, Australian aborigines, and Red Indians employ for this purpose the "speaking" drum,<sup>10</sup> by the aid of which they are able to send messages of all kinds with an astonishing accuracy and rapidity. The Polynesians and others have geographical maps,<sup>11</sup> out of the bark of trees they make tissues as fine and delicate as the finest silk and cambric, printing on them many-coloured designs in exquisite taste. Knowledge of chemistry, medicine, and astronomy is found also among these primitive peoples. A medical expert<sup>12</sup> states that primitive people in their healing art, among much nonsense and superstition, not infrequently give proof of clever thought as well as of skilful and bold treatment, for instance, in cases of amputation, trepanation (according to Luschan, the stumbling block in European surgery up to the nineteenth century), Cæsarean section, hernial operations, the treatment of broken limbs, removal of the ovaries, skilful midwifery, hypnotism, and the use of many important drugs. Inoculation against snake bites is practised by some primitive peoples.

These favourable features, it is true, are balanced by many unfavourable ones. Cruelty, superstition, mendacity, faithlessness, sexual licentiousness, laziness, superficiality, are met with in all races; the difference is that primitive peoples lack that moral restraint which is or should be the outcome of civilization. On the other hand, however, it is just civilization in its long initial periods that has a deteriorating effect on morality, a dismal and desperate antinomy which not even our greatest thinkers have been able to overcome.<sup>13</sup> The reports of the keenest observers agree in this one point, namely, that just the lowest of the primitive peoples (e.g. the Weddahs, the natives of Tuegia) offer a surprising picture of peacefulness, honesty, truthfulness, leniency, and self-control, while with increasing social differentiation, when a people begins to break up into ranks and classes, when the soil becomes

private property and bloody strife is followed by slavery, a rapid moral decline results. Man, it seems, is doomed to pass through the severe school of coercion; only through coercion is he torn out of his idyllic primeval state and filled with the often fallacious and cruel ideals of progress and evolution. Civilization becomes for him an endless school of suffering until he finally arrives at a stage where coercion by slow degrees may be abandoned without his sinking back into barbarism. Moreover, one must not forget that in only too many instances the Europeans are to blame for the demoralization of primitive peoples, as we read in some of the saddest pages of history. Slavery, whisky, venereal diseases, dire cruelty, mark everywhere the first appearance of the Europeans among primitive peoples. Extermination and enslavement are by no means things of the past. Only recently a Swedish explorer, Baron Erland von Nordenskiöld,<sup>14</sup> drew a ghastly picture of crimes committed to this very day in the india-rubber forests of some South American states, where the native Indians are enslaved by fraud and by force, exploited and demoralized. Monstrous atrocities and abominations were perpetrated against the natives of the Belgian Congo, who were exploited unmercifully by the officials of King Leopold of the Belgians for the sake of rubber and ivory. Millions of Negroes were done to death between the years 1891-1912 in order that the joint-stock companies, the shareholders of which were King Leopold and his minions, might pay dividends of hundreds per cent. Mr. E. D. Morel and Sir Roger Casement, by their fight against these unutterable horrors, have acquired undying merit. In 1906 Mr. H. W. Nevinson exposed that in the cocoa plantations of the Portuguese colony Angola there prevailed a system of slavery together with a regular slave trade, whereupon the English cocoa industries, which are mostly owned by Quakers, resolved under the lead of Mr. Cadbury to boycott the raw material of the Portuguese colonies; and then only were the abuses redressed. In the English, French, and German colonies also cases of brutality and exploitation of the natives have occurred even up to a recent date.<sup>15</sup>

The problem of educating and emancipating the coloured races, and the regulation of their position in regard to the whites is unquestionably a hard one, but only blind greed of exploitation and ignorant Jingoism will deny the fact that most promising progress has been made. Not long ago the Maoris of New Zealand still indulged in cannibalism; to-day many of them are not behind the immigrated Europeans in culture. They have parliamentary



suffrage and cabinet ministers have sprung from the ranks of their deputies. Karl Jentsch says very pertinently: "The Teutons also did not in one day turn into painstaking scholars and bureaucrats." The Teutons, in fact, even many hundred, nay a thousand years, after having first come into touch with ancient civilization had not advanced so far in assimilating and generally adopting the cultural treasures handed down to them, as have the American Negroes of to-day after a few generations. In the U.S.A. at the time of the abolition (1867) 98 per cent of the Negroes could not read and write, in 1920 the figure was only 23 per cent, and this in spite of the obstacles some States throw in their way! Compare with this fact that five hundred years after the first contact of Romans and Teutons the greatest of all Teutonic kings, Theodoric, who, moreover, had spent fourteen of his youthful years at the refined Byzantine Court, was totally illiterate, and that Charlemagne, who died in 814, is said by his biographer Einhard, to have taken much and unavailing pains in his later life to learn the art of writing. As late as in the expiring Middle Ages the knowledge of reading was so uncommon among the German nobles that it was praised as a distinction of great learning.

The following figures give the proportion of illiterates in various countries between 1910-13, counting from the age of 10 years upwards:—Negroes in America: 1910, 30·4%; 1890, 57·1%; Italy: men 32·6%, women 42·4%; Spain: 66·3% (2·6% could only read); Servia: 83·0%; Russia: about 70% (Petersburg 44·9%); Belgium: 13·1%; Austria: 16·5% (Dalmatia 62·8%, Bukovina 52·9%, Galicia 40·6%, Istria 39·8%).

### THE NEGRO QUESTION IN AMERICA

There is strong evidence proving the possibility of incorporating also backward races, namely, the Negroes in North America, in our civilization. Having been treated little better than brutes until as late as a couple of generations ago, and been ostracized and often kept back unduly by intimidation to this very day, the American Negroes can yet boast of a progress. Archbishop Ireland, writing twenty years ago, said of them that the progress they had made in the forty years since their emancipation was without parallel in history; no people of whatever colour or race had done anything comparable to this, and he felt certain that the next forty years would quadruple this progress. The census furnishes exact statistical evidence of rapid economic and cultural

development, the reports of government inspectors of the department of education emphasize that on the evidence of rigorous college examinations there can be no question of an intellectual inferiority on the part of the Negroes. Even their physical type gradually approaches to that of the European, as has been stated by many observers in the United States.<sup>16</sup> W. P. Livingston, in his interesting study on the Negroes in Jamaica, remarks that the blacks in this English colony had developed British facial and mental traits, while the Negroes of Haiti more approached the French type.<sup>17</sup>

A great number of intelligence tests carried out in America by Ferguson, Rowe, Philipps, Perring, Strong, Orlitt,<sup>18</sup> and others show that in *circa* 70% of the cases the coloured people come up to the standard of the whites. This is very high, for careful as the experimenters may have been in selecting for comparison only cases of like condition, it will hardly have been possible for them to take into full consideration all the detrimental factors handicapping the blacks as compared to the whites, such as unfavourable social conditions, lower standard of family and school education, and all the manifold imponderables that hang in tradition. Mention is due also to Professor Arthur Macdonald's extensive tests<sup>19</sup> taken in Washington of thousands of school children severally in thirteen subjects: algebra, arithmetic, drawing, geography, etc. For reasons we cannot see Macdonald omitted to sum up into one all these partial results, so that we have had to do this ourselves, arriving at the following results:—

	<i>Bright</i> (number of cases). %		<i>Dull</i> cases. %		<i>Average</i> cases. %	
Boys of purely American parents	7,966	37.5	4,294	20.2	9,985	42.3
Boys of immigrants or mixed (American-European) origin	2,380	34.2	1,481	21.3	3,091	44.4
Coloured boys	3,626	47.2	1,479	19.2	2,577	33.5

What seems surprising in this table is the fact that the percentage of intelligents in coloured boys is even considerably higher than in white ones, though the former come unquestionably from socially lower and less educated strata. I have not summed up the figures for girls—they would probably be even more in favour of the coloured!

Extreme cases were also stated, namely, when a child was intelligent, dull, or mediocre in all subjects of instruction. The distribution as calculated by Macdonald, was the following:—

	<i>Bright.</i>	<i>Dull.</i>	<i>Mediocre.</i>
	%	%	%
Only American boys . . .	51	14	35
Other white boys . . .	51	14	35
Coloured boys . . .	46	23	31

	<i>Bright.</i>	<i>Dull.</i>	<i>Mediocre.</i>
	%	%	%
Only American girls . . .	45	9	46
Other white girls . . .	52	11	37
Coloured girls . . .	69	28	3

Here we see a slight inferiority of the coloured in the boys, while the coloured girls are considerably ahead of the white ones!

Such statistical data, of course, are always open to serious objections. At least, however, these figures furnish no grounds to infer Negro inferiority.<sup>20</sup>

The American Negroes can already boast of some names holding a fair rank in science, art, and politics. Let it suffice to name Booker T. Washington, whose autobiography offers a wonderful picture of this extraordinary man and of the rising development of his people.<sup>21</sup> One of the best authorities on African exploration, the former governor, Sir Henry Johnston, says that the Negroes have produced famous painters, musicians, novel writers, botanists, lawyers, philologists, philosophers, mathematicians, engineers, and generals who in their work are successful in the midst of whites, and in competition with the best talents of Europe and America.<sup>22</sup>

The precondition for any lasting cultural improvement of low races is the rousing of their working energies. A horsebreeding maxim says "half of the race enters through the mouth". A favourite argument for demonstrating the racial inferiority of the Negroes and Indians, and for pleading the necessity of coercive labour, is the inertness of these races, but this argument has been confuted by Robert Michels,<sup>23</sup> who showed in a brilliant study borne out by ample evidence that the cause of this inertness is always to be sought in social conditions. Europeans when transplanted into the tropics frequently lapse into this very same state of inertness, and our own historical past shows like traits. On the other hand, examples of painstaking assiduity in many coloured peoples and of intelligent agriculture are adduced by Michels, Ratzel, and others. In Paraguay in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Jesuits succeeded by their mild ways in raising 150,000 wild Redskins to a very high level of culture. The reports on experiences gained with coloured labour during the war in France and America sound surprisingly favourable (Michels, p. 180 et



seq.). An official American inquiry showed that in the majority of cases the Negroes were superior to the whites as regards industry and punctuality, but in perfectness of the work done and swiftness of execution white labour was somewhat ahead. The dislike of work among primitive peoples sometimes does not bear upon work in itself, but upon unwonted forms of work, uncongenial to their natures (mining, factory work) and upon coercion, exploitation, and fraud.

#### FORMER BARBARISM OF ARYAN PEOPLES AND ITS RELICS IN EUROPE

Nothing perhaps is more likely to cure us of our vain-glorious conceit of being by descent the aristocracy among races than a backward glance on our own cultural evolution.

Prehistoric finds made in different parts of Europe, some of them belonging to as late periods as the Bronze and Iron Ages (Bohemia), prove that in those days the inhabitants of Europe, whom surely we must consider as our forefathers, were cannibals. Brains and the marrow of human bones seem to have been their especial titbits, as is made evident by inspection of the bones found.<sup>24</sup>

Human sacrifice and cannibalism, frequently interconnected, were common with many half-savage tribes, but there are also many exceptions. Human sacrifice, as Westermarck proves,<sup>25</sup> is even more frequent in somewhat advanced peoples than in low, primitive peoples. The notion that the gods are athirst for human blood and therefore must be propitiated by the immolation of human beings occurs even with highly civilized peoples, especially in times of danger and distress. Such practices, though in a rudimentary form, are traceable within historic times among all Aryan tribes. The Aryan Indians practised human sacrifice, likewise the Aryan Persians according to Herodotus (vii, 114, 180). Achilles in the *Iliad* (xviii, 336) vows to slaughter twelve Trojan youths for the obsequies of Patroclus, and a great number of Greek legends tell of human sacrifices. Plutarch reports (*Them.* 13) that the Greeks at the outset of the battle of Salamis immolated Persian prisoners. We are told by Pausanias (viii, 38, 7) and by others that as late as the second century A.D. boys were immolated periodically in Arcadia in honour of the Lycæan Zeus; and it was maintained that the sacrificers tasted of the flesh of the victims. Numerous further cases are reported.<sup>26</sup> Human sacrifices were offered in times of national distress by the Romans (Livy, xxii, 54 ;

Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 3), by the Carthaginians, and also by the Jews.<sup>27</sup> Pliny reports that the Roman Senate in 97 B.C. forbade the practice of human sacrifices, and the Emperor Hadrian renewed this prohibition. Porphyrius, however (third century A.D.), says that at the festival of Jupiter Latiaris in Rome the throat of a man is still cut. Even Augustus is reported by Suetonius (ch. 15) to have had 300 noble Perusians immolated at the altar of Divus Julius (his great-uncle Cæsar).

The extermination of whole nations as practised by the "chosen people" at the command of the Lord, and the burning of heretics in the Christian Middle Ages, after all, have the character of human sacrifices. The Egyptians, too, immolated human beings, while with the Babylonians no traces of such practices have yet been found (Landersdorfer, p. 151).

Among the ancient Gauls human sacrifices were extremely frequent,<sup>28</sup> and Gobineau states that the Celtic Armoricans practised such sacrifices even up to the seventeenth century. Of the Teutons the same is reported by Tacitus (*Germania*, 9, 39, 40, and *Annals*, i, 61), and by other authors (for instance, Florus, ii, 30). Strabo (vii, 2, 3) relates of the Cimbri that white-haired priestesses cut the throats of war prisoners and disemboweled them in order to read the future in the entrails and in the flowing blood. Professor Mogk<sup>29</sup> has collected more than fifty cases of human sacrifice practised by the Teutons. Prisoners were often sacrificed after frightful tortures. The legendary Swedish king Aunn of Upsala sacrificed nine of his sons successively to Odin in order to extend his own life. Child sacrifice in Sweden is traceable down to the year 1350. The slaughter of all war prisoners and the burning of the booty as a sacrifice to the god, such as we read in the Bible, was customary among the Teutons, likewise the building sacrifice which took place right down to the Middle Ages. When at Bremen the old draw-bridge was pulled down the skeleton of a child was found embedded in the walls of the foundation; and Grimm reports that in 1843 at Halle when a new bridge was built the people were in open fear lest a child should be walled in to consecrate it.<sup>30</sup> The Lithuanians as late as 1341 burned three German knights, their war prisoners, on the funeral pyre of their grand duke Gedinim.

The custom of killing the old and sick in order to spare them unnecessary sufferings (especially when the tribe was on a migratory expedition) prevailed among many primitive peoples, and sometimes the flesh of the killed was eaten. This was practised also by some Aryan tribes with whom nomadic customs in part prevailed until

late in history. Thus Herodotus (i, 126 ; iii, 99 ; iv, 26, 64, 106) and Pomponius Mela (ii, 9 to 15) speak of Indian and Scythian tribes who are in the habit of eating their old people, drinking the blood of their enemies, and such like. Pytheas reports the same of the ancient Irish. According to Diodorus (v, 32) and Strabo, they were man-eaters, and so were the Gauls that invaded Greece under Brennus, as Pausanias (xxii, 3, 7) reports. Pliny says that the Gauls gave up the practice of man-eating only when under Roman rule, but Saint Hieronymus in his young days saw the Scotch indulge in this,<sup>31</sup> and it is even maintained that they practised cannibalism until late in the Middle Ages. Slavonic tribes in North-Eastern Germany are said to have eaten their aged parents until far into the Middle Ages, and in Lithuania cases of cannibalism occurred down to the year 1603. Killing the aged was frequent among the Teutonic Heruli still in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. (Procopius), and folk-lore seems to point to this custom having been common among other Teutonic tribes.<sup>32</sup> Cicero mentions that the ancient Romans threw those who had become 60 years old from a bridge into the river Tiber (*pro Sexto Roscio*, c. 35).

The Capitularies of Paderborn issued by Charlemagne in 785 for the Saxon provinces stipulated, "Whosoever, seduced by the devil, suspects other people of witchcraft and man-eating, and therefore burns them and eats of their flesh himself, or gives to others to eat of it, that same man shall be worthy of death." "Whosoever offers human sacrifices to the devil, or after the manner of the heathens sacrifices to the evil demons, is worthy of death."<sup>33</sup> Obviously such practices were not uncommon among the old Saxons, the nearest relatives of the Anglo-Saxons.

And in view of such facts and numerous other proofs that might be adduced as relative to Aryan peoples, race dogmatists still maintain that no Aryan people ever knew human sacrifices or cannibalism.

It would, of course, be quite ridiculous to raise an outcry about such general manifestations of primitive humanity. Cannibalism is not so much the outcome of an uncontrolled gluttonous disposition in primitive peoples as the effect of superstition. The man-eater devours his foe because he believes that by doing so he acquires courage, strength, and other qualities of the person he eats. Remains of such superstitions are heard of frequently even in our own times. In 1882, in the Russian village of Stary-Multan (30 miles distant from the university town of Kasan), orthodox



Russian peasants slaughtered one of their men in honour of the old god Kurban, drank his blood and ate his lungs and heart, in presence of the village mayor, the constable, and the churchwarden. These peasants acted so much in good faith that they made not the slightest effort to keep the ceremony secret.<sup>34</sup> Cases of cannibalism in Russia also occurred some few years ago at the time of the great famine, as has been officially stated. The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) brought such dire misery to Germany that cannibalism began to raise its ghastly head, as is attested, for instance, by the minutes of the town council of Ruffach in 1636. Duke Charles of Lorraine maintained that his soldiers once roasted children in order to eat them, and that they once boiled two old nuns for the sake of having good strong broth. Bornemann reported in 1639 that "two children devoured their dear mother after she had died from starvation, and, Lord have mercy on us, acts of this kind occur daily here". A certain bailiff Schulte reported in 1643 that men were being caught in snares, killed, and regularly roasted.<sup>35</sup>

In the eighteenth century at Bayreuth a man was executed for having murdered eight women big with child, whose wombs he ripped open, devouring the still palpitating hearts of the children, hoping thus to acquire the faculty of flying.<sup>36</sup> There was a widespread superstition that eating the still palpitating human hearts gave one the faculty of rendering oneself invisible. In the eighteenth century, in Styria, there occurred a number of murders from this motive alone, as appears from documentary evidence.<sup>37</sup>

A trial that took place in 1911 at Graz, throws a singular light on the mentality of German peasants in Styria. In this country there is a superstition that every chemist in the land has the right to kill two persons yearly in order to fill up his stock of human fat, and the dispensary of the "Brethren of Charity" at Graz may even kill seven people! One of the Styrian chemists felt hurt by these slanderous aspersions and went to law, so that the prevalence of this superstition came to light.

This primitive mentality also explains the fact that during the world war the most stupid lies about atrocities committed by the enemy found ready believers. The fable of German soldiers having cut off the hands of infants in Belgium or crucified war prisoners seems to find some believers even now, years after the war.

Among Teutons, Celts, Scythians, etc., the general custom prevailed of making the crania of enemies killed in war—sometimes also of their nearest and dearest relatives—into drinking cups.<sup>38</sup> In them the blood of the enemy was served as a drink, a practice

which is said to have been preserved in Ireland till not very long ago ! Luschan refers to a custom still to be found in some monasteries in Bavaria and elsewhere, namely, that the crania of the saints are used as drinking cups by devout pilgrims : this, it is believed, is a protection against all sorts of ailments.<sup>39</sup> Tertullian reports that the spectators at the gladiatorial games used greedily to lap up the blood of the killed as a remedy against epilepsy. Gebhardi wrote in 1783 : " Drinking blood is not considered as a mark of barbarity, not even in our times, as epileptic persons are often permitted to resort to places of execution in order to swallow the warm blood of a beheaded criminal." When a murderer was executed at Hanau in 1861 many people rushed to the scaffold to drink the reeking blood. In still more recent times in Switzerland a murderer confessed to having committed the murder in order to drink the blood of his victim as a remedy against the falling sickness. Finally among all European nations there have been instances of utter brutishness and cannibalism,<sup>40</sup> such as Charles Savage, so passionate a man-eater that no cannibal could have equalled him ; and the two wholesale murderers Harmann (Hanover) and Denke (Münsterberg, Silesia), brought to justice in 1924, each convicted of having killed and partly eaten more than twenty people.

Another favourite topic with race dogmatists is the alleged cruelty of the " lower " races. Hospitality towards strangers, however, as far as they are not suspected of evil intentions, is a sacred law with all primitive peoples, and mildness against the enemy is not infrequently found among them as even the rudiments of international law also. There are primitive peoples who are ignorant of war and manslaughter.<sup>41</sup>

Nobody will deny that repulsive and horrid things are met with in great abundance among primitive people ; but the worst that is reported of the Red Indians torturing their captured enemies almost fades before the unspeakable horrors committed by French troops at the taking of Utrecht in 1673, and also by German and Swedish troops in the Thirty Years' War.<sup>42</sup>

In this connexion we must also call to memory the practices the law employed up to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when delinquents were tortured to death by cutting off their limbs piecemeal, burning out their eyes, pinching them with hot irons, etc. In Austria it was the Empress Maria Theresia who, at the instigation of Josef von Sonnenfels, abolished torture in 1775. The monument of this son of a Moravian rabbi stands to-day in front of the

town hall in Vienna, with the broken implements of torture at his feet.

Only a few words can be said here upon the primitive connubial forms prevailing with the ancestors of some of our modern civilized peoples, for instance, polygamy with the Teutonic nobles, polyandry with the Lacedemonians and Caledonians, the institution of promiscuity in Britain and Ireland (Cæsar, *B.G.*, 14; Strabo, iv, 5, 4). Strabo even says speaking of the ancient Irish: "They copulate in public, with their own wives and also with those of others, and even with their own mothers and sisters." This, however, seems doubtful to us, for public coition has been rarely met with among primitive peoples, except perhaps as a religious ceremony. It may be that Strabo refers to this.

The queer disfigurements practised by many Negro and Red Indian tribes are not uglier and certainly less harmful than the tight stays our ladies used to wear but a short time ago. Whether one wears rings in one's nose or one's ears is after all a matter of taste. Certain nauseous customs found among savage tribes will appear less unnatural to us if we remember that some strange drugs, such as cow and horse dung, fried rats, etc., are favoured by our popular quackery,<sup>43</sup> and that the eating of fæces and the drinking of urine was practised some centuries ago in France and England on the occasion of certain ecclesiastical festivals, just the same as in ancient Mexico at the festivals of fecundity. Trebitsch believes that the object in administering such distasteful drugs to sick people was to chase away the evil demons that possessed them.

The most primitive forms of religion, namely fetishism, totemism, and ancestor worship, though varnished over by an outward show of Christianity, form still living factors in the conscience of the majority of the European populations; in many Catholic and Protestant countries the priest in the eyes of the peasant is still a magician who rules the weather just the same as any African medicine-man. However, it is not alone the ignorant who are possessed of such ideas. Some years ago box 13 in a theatre had to be left out because nobody would take it, though it is to be supposed that the buyers of boxes are not exactly proletarians. On Fridays the luxury trains are always less frequented, as the railway administrations know. All the traits which in the "savages" seem to us so ridiculous can also be traced, at least in rudiments, in our own customs and ideas, as has been amply proved by Spencer.



## BACKWARD RACES

The differences between distant groups of one and the same linguistic family or race are greater than those between any two "unrelated" races as a whole. This assertion can be proved up to the hilt. Therefore it follows from this that it is not racial character which has prevented the backward from progressing, but environmental influences.<sup>44</sup> The lowest tribes of the Central Asiatic steppes speak Aryan tongues, and likewise the wild Kurds. The Ainus in the north of Japan, who, according to Baelz, are most probably related to the white Europeans, are despised by the Japanese as savage barbarians. There can be no doubt that a great many members of the white race have failed to reach the standard of many Mongols and Negroes. What an enormous distance there is, moreover, between the western Finns and the Magyars on the one hand and the Finnish nomad tribes in Siberia, the Ostiaks and Samoyeds, on the other! "What a difference," says Ratzel, "between that branch of the Tungusians subject to Russia which dwell in the frigid zone and the other one that lives in the temperate zone under Chinese rule, or the Turks ruling in Western Asia!"

## NON-ARYAN CIVILIZATIONS

Some branches of non-Aryan races, moreover, have attained such a cultured level that they can stand comparison in every way with the most advanced Aryan nations. It is interesting to observe the embarrassment of the race dogmatists when called upon to explain the cultural attainments of our Mongolic cousins. It suffices in this respect to refer to Chamberlain's platitudes on the Chinese, but even such a moderate disciple of this school as Woltmann<sup>45</sup> ventured to assert: "As to the Mongols, only some branches of them have attained the lower stage of civilization," and (p. 265) "We can only repeat that from the view point of historic anthropology all crosses of the Caucasian with Negroes and Mongols are to be condemned, and that even admixtures of the Mediterranean and Alpine type are on the whole to be considered as objectionable." In the last half of this sentence, Woltmann throws the whole of South Germany, the Mediterranean countries, England, France, the Netherlands, and Austria into the swamp of racial inferiority. Under the abstraction Mongol the race dogmatist comprises, of course, not only the Chinese (who with the Mongols in a more narrow sense have nothing in common, either linguistically or in any other respect), but also all Mongoloid and Ural-Altaic peoples (Turks

Finns, etc.). Yet a totally different picture is given in a remarkable study by Heinrich Winkler, one of the best authorities in this branch of science. He sums up his observations in the following words <sup>46</sup>: "The reason why the Finnic peoples mostly failed to reach a stage beyond that of simple tillers of the ground and shepherds is to be sought in the physical conditions of the countries they dwell in, and not in their intellectual inferiority. In fact, those who have lived among Finnic peoples and could observe the contrast between these and the surrounding Indo-European nations will soon do away with their traditional but unwarranted Indogermanic conceit of superiority. Wherever conditions are favourable to Finnic peoples such a comparison will result strongly in favour of them; that the Suomi Finnic inhabitants of Finland, and also the Magyars, are cultured in the best sense of this term will be admitted by all those who have observed these peoples in their own country. Intellectual life in Finland keeps in every respect on a level with the best Indogermanic standards. The contrast between Finland and the neighbouring districts where Russian populations dwell is enormously great; and a traveller coming from Russia and observing the highly developed intellectual standard of Finland and its well-regulated conditions of life will be under the impression of having crossed from Asia into Europe. But apart from the accomplishment of all cultural developments of modern life, technical, scientific, and social, we find here an open mind for the beauties of the form, and in general for all branches of art; the entire Finnic race is to a high degree fond of colour and music, and has a most delicate sense of the beautiful in the realm of sounds, colour, and poetry" (pp. 98-9).

Almost all race theorists who venture to criticize China show an utter ignorance of real conditions there. They talk of the "impassiveness" of the Chinese race, though China more than any other empire in the world has been subject to frequent revolutions! But a short time ago the world was taken by surprise by the sudden proclamation of the republican form of government in that country after a prolonged period of stagnation. Some of the institutions we reckon among the proudest attainments of our own time were introduced in China as early as two thousand years ago. In 134 B.C. the emperor Wu-Di ordered that in all provinces those who excelled in virtues and erudition should be selected and made state officers. Slavery was abolished under Wang-Mang (A.D. 9-23), animal sacrifices in 517. Absolute tolerance in religious matters has ruled in China from times immemorial, and also great liberty of speech

and press as compared with that of European countries.<sup>47</sup> The conception of the monarch being but a servant of the public welfare is very old in China. Here we only mention moral attainments, as Chamberlain always emphasizes that culture does not consist in the accumulation of useful technical knowledge, but in moral and intellectual refinement. How is it that the Chinese, prosaic and soulless as he says they are, have created works of art so rich in imagination? <sup>48</sup> The reasons why China, though since the remotest times possessed of some of our modern technical attainments, has failed to have an industrial and economic development similar to our own have been very pertinently explained by William Dalton Babington.<sup>49</sup> How perfectly Chinese minds can assimilate European mentality has been proved by more than one diplomatist living in Europe or America, as, for instance the ambassador Wut-Ting-Fang in Washington, whose able pen is equal to that of our best writers. Cheng-Ki-Tong, a diplomatist who for a long time lived in Paris, published an instructive book on China, and few of his European colleagues could have written about their own countries with such delicate humour. As to the accomplishments of the Japanese, it is useless to say even one word. The race dogmatists, who regard success in history as the only criterion for racial nobility, will at least acknowledge the battles of Mukden and Tsushima as proofs of noble descent.

All race dogmatists look upon honour as the privilege and highest distinction of the Aryan, but what Aryan or non-Aryan people can in this regard match the Japanese whose code of honour prescribes them to disembowel themselves as a demonstration of protest against injuries inflicted on their honour! In 1924, when the Immigration Bill was enacted in America, the newspapers reported that the Japanese, who felt that this legislation was chiefly directed against their own countrymen, were deeply hurt in their national pride. Many of them committed harakiri in order to manifest their indignation at the affront offered to their people.

Finally we come to the Indians, who, though speaking Indo-germanic languages, are non-Nordic in their features. Not only have they produced a high culture of their own, but they have given full evidence of being able to assimilate European culture.<sup>50</sup>

#### UNITY OF HUMAN SPIRIT

Professor F. von Luschan out of his enormous experience of all the races of the earth draws the following conclusion: "There are no races inferior by nature." Professor K. T. Preuss, who



specialized in the investigation of the primitive native tribes of Mexico, stated that "with like education in like surroundings the fitness for intellectual training does not on an average seem inferior in individuals of primitive races than in the whites; and the same impression of natural intelligence has been experienced by travellers who for a long time have lived in close contact with primitive peoples".

Professor Thurnwald, whose researches chiefly comprised the native tribes of Australasia, says: "The primitive mind in its elemental dispositions and instincts in no way differs from the general human mind, only the moral restraints are less great and frequently also of a different kind." Professor A. W. Nieuwenhuis and Dr. C. Hose, both of whom for a long time lived among the Dyaks of Borneo, savages among whom head-hunting and cannibalism prevailed almost up to the present day, reported that intimate acquaintance with the intellectual and spiritual life of these peoples showed them to be much like Europeans and in their fundamental instincts similar to our own people. C. S. Myers, professor of experimental psychology at the University of Cambridge, on the ground of many years' study of the spiritual life of the natives in Australia and Africa came to the conclusion that the mental features of the greater part of the rural populations in Europe correspond essentially to those observable in primitive peoples, and that differences, where they occur, must be ascribed to environmental influences. Through a proper change of environment the lowest races might attain the level of the highest and vice versa. In the same way Consul Vohsen likewise declared on the ground of many years' experience in Africa: "It is in colour only that the Negro differs from the European."<sup>51</sup>

Francis Galton, it is true, says that among the Negroes the number of people we would call dull of comprehension is exceedingly great; but this opinion stands in striking contrast to the experiences of a very careful German explorer, Professor Karl Weule,<sup>52</sup> who says: "In Europe there are people of slow, middling, and quick comprehension; and in Africa it is not otherwise. For many months I lived in the very midst of the tribes of the Rovuma region and I never had the impression of their being the tomfools Europeans set them down to be; on the contrary, the way in which not only the dignified seniors but also the ardent youths behaved in front of us Europeans deserves the attribute of pleasant gravity. European circles of a like social standard could take them for a model. On the ground of these good personal experiences I reject the dogma

of the unfitness of the Negro for development ; intellectual progress cannot be disputed to him, not even in the U.S.A., where the obstacles thrown in his way are certainly greater than the possibilities offered of development. Why then should he not be able to get on to the upward path if we but give him a fair chance ? Only we must not expect this to be achieved from one day to the other, as this would be contrary to all biological laws of evolution, quite in the same way as the expectation of an economic florescence from one day to the next would be contrary to the law of historical evolution."

One of the most primitive groups of humanity, perhaps the most primitive of all, are the " pigmy races " of Central Africa and the inhabitants of some Asiatic islands. Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, a leading ethnologist,<sup>53</sup> sees in them the oldest primeval race ; their culture also seems even less developed than that of the aboriginal Australians. His comprehensive opinion of them he expresses in the following words : " The general mental dispositions of the pigmies are in every respect those of true human beings, and not nearer the animal level by a single degree. We meet among them a real thinking spirit, true human feeling, and a sufficiently energetic dynamic and ethical will. Their intellectual capacity is not below that of peoples whose higher cultural development leaves us no doubt as to their attainments ; there is much evidence given by competent explorers to the effect that their minds are quick and active, even more so than the minds of many more civilized people." In painting and sculpture the Bushmen, their near relatives, have given proof of eminent ability, but most surprising is the social, ethical, and religious standard of the Pigmies. Their morals are almost in every regard better and purer than those of far more civilized peoples. They are monogamous and their matrimonial faithfulness is exemplary, the parents are linked up with their children by ties of tender love and care. Not a rude reckless struggle for life, but decided altruism rules among them. Falsehood and theft are very rare. Even their religious conceptions are by no means of a low order. Cultured peoples compared to these " savages " in many respects represent forms of degeneracy. Once more Schmidt emphasizes that the " mental and intellectual dispositions of the Pigmies in no material point diverge from those even of the more highly developed individuals among civilized peoples ", and that on the contrary " they stand morally and intellectually exactly on the same level with all other human beings ". Schmidt praises them highly especially as regards their morality,

and maintains that "these small creatures in very many respects are better than the average of the higher civilized peoples, Europeans not excepted".

For a long time the natives of Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost inhabitants of the globe, were represented as the lowest race. They were depicted as naked, dull, and brutal cannibals, devoid of all social and religious notions. This was also the opinion of Charles Darwin.<sup>54</sup> But since then more exhaustive inquiries have given cause to rectify these views. Dr. W. Koppers,<sup>55</sup> who lived among them, gives us an astonishing picture of their intellectual activity and moral refinement. He praises in them "prodigious memory", "deep personal sense of duty", "surprisingly high intellectual religious and moral notions", "devotion, loyalty, and thankfulness", practical altruism, kindness, and helpfulness towards strangers, old and weak people, tender parental love, etc. Respecting their intellectual aptitude he says furthermore: "It is clear that people growing up in surroundings of a highly developed economy and civilization become of necessity trained in more regular and systematic habits of thinking; but there can be no doubt in view of the facts observed that the Yagans differ only in degree from higher civilizations, and not in essence. Their intellectual operations in every respect run in the same paths as everywhere else in the world, where reasonable human beings display intellectual activities." Yet Koppers admits that these people must be reckoned among the "lowest of the primitive peoples on earth".

The intellectual development of Negro children has been studied on the grounds of a vast material by Erich Franke.<sup>56</sup> He rejects the common opinion of the intellectual development of primitive peoples being prevented by a premature coalescence of the coronal sutures of the crania in the young. The common observation that Negro children after surprisingly great initial progress, such as outruns even that of European children, come to a sudden standstill at the age of puberty cannot be explained by physiological factors, but is due preponderantly to environmental influences, namely, to social and tribal customs favouring the premature and unchecked growth of the sexual instincts.<sup>57</sup> The pupils of the Mission when dismissed from school after having attained the age of puberty, soon fall into unchecked sexuality, which is often aggravated by the depraving effect of European influences upon the national customs of the natives.

It has very often been asserted that primitive men are unable to keep their mind on one problem for even a minute or two.



Professor H. W. Rivers has investigated this assumption and says : " Summing up my own experience—and I believe this will be confirmed by anyone who has used the methods of modern ethnology—I may say that in intellectual concentration as well as in many other psychological processes, I have been able to detect no essential difference between Melanesian or Toda, and those with whom I have been accustomed to mix in the life of our own society." <sup>58</sup>

In respect to the cultural aptitudes of the coloured peoples the opinion of Professor Eugen Fischer, a well-known anthropologist with a decided bias for race dogma, is also noteworthy. He believes that in this respect too much importance is given to intelligence. The fact that coloured people are quick of comprehension, good at machines, able artisans and employees, does not prove anything as to their cultural efficiency. " If our own cultural efficiency were dependent on the intelligence of the great masses in our large cities, or on a body of factory workers, well organized though they may be, or on our peasantry, then, to be sure, we would not be superior to some coloured peoples. But the fact that there arise continually and in comparatively great number from out of the level of the common herd individuals towering over the masses in intellectual superiority, elevates us on a whole far above all coloured races (the Mongols here not being considered as such)." <sup>59</sup> Thus Fischer is of the opinion that the European working and rural classes are not higher, intellectually, than many coloured peoples. Culture, however, does not depend so much on intellect as on energy, imagination, creative power, absolute self-assertion, in short, on such qualities as are required for leadership. These qualities, however, according to Fischer, the coloured races lack. " Where in a crossbred population of whites and coloured races has there ever been found a considerable number of people that excelled as wholesale manufacturers, merchants, or administrators ? And where is there but a single being of pure coloured blood who has displayed creative gifts as an organizer ? "

If anybody asked Professor Fischer why the ancient Teutons failed to procreate wholesale dealers, manufacturers, and administrators even after long acquaintance with Roman civilization, he would probably at once remember the retarding influence of environment and tradition. But his assertion, above all, is quite erroneous and gives proof of his astonishing lack of information. Already Francis Galton, a kindred spirit to Fischer but possessed of a much more discriminating turn of mind, observed in his principal work published in 1870 <sup>60</sup> that the black race is

not at all deficient in individuals capable of becoming able business managers, prosperous merchants, chairmen of juries, etc., in a word people of a considerably higher standard than the average whites. This, one would say, ought to be sufficient for securing a race against the charge of civil inability.

In the meantime a great number of coloured people have acquired education, wealth, and social standing, even in the U.S.A., notwithstanding the professional jealousy of white labour with its often brutal attempts to debar the Negroes from all better situations, and despite the almost insurmountable barrier of racial prejudice.<sup>61</sup> According to the census of 1900 there were among the Negroes of the U.S.A.: 1,727 factory owners, 227 factory managers, 135 bankers and higher bank clerks, 241 wholesale dealers, exporters, and importers, 677 governmental officials, 1,279 actors, 59 architects, 329 artists, painters, sculptors, etc., 27 writers, 222 newspaper editors and journalists, 123 chemists, 237 engineers, 17,495 preachers, 242 college professors and head masters, 478 dentists, 19 inventors, 798 lawyers, judges, etc., 5,606 musicians and music teachers, 3,077 physicians, 29,485 teachers, 93 stage managers, 1,675 clerks, and many thousands of shopkeepers, artisans, foremen, skilled workers, and so forth.<sup>62</sup>

That born leaders and strong individualities are not lacking even among primitive peoples could be shown by the evidence of numerous authorities. W. Schmidt, for instance, rejects the assumption of the merely gregarious nature of primitive peoples and points out that the individual differences among them are striking to everybody who has an opportunity of close and intimate observation. The same has been stated by many other specialists.<sup>63</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

<sup>1</sup> One should read the pregnant refutation of this prejudice given by Felix v. Luschan's essay in *Papers on Inter-racial Questions*, 1911, and in his latest and brilliant work, *Völker, Rassen und Sprachen*, 1922. This famous anthropologist says the only "savages" in Africa are certain whites, who are infected with tropical frenzy. Staff Physician Dr. Lion says the same thing in his excellent little book *Die Kulturfähigkeit des Negers*, 1908: "The education of the Negroes must begin with the education of the whites." Cf. also the writings of Hennig, a missionary, *Zum Kampf um die Negerseele*, 1907.

The following writers have treated exhaustively the subject of the soul-life of primitive men: R. Thurnwald, *Psychologie des primitiven Menschen* (in *HVPs.*, 1902, and also separately, with an extensive bibliography); K. T. Preuss, *Die geistige Kultur der Naturvölker*, 1914; A. Vierkandt, *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, 1896; L. Levy-Bühl, *Das Denken der Naturvölker*, 1921; Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 2nd ed. in 2 vols., 1894; Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, 2 vols., 1906-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, 1912; W. Koppers, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, 1924, p. 141; K. T. Preuss, p. 59. Cf. further, K. Beth, *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern*, 1914, p. 123 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Der Schwarze Dekameron (The Black Decameron)*, which treats of love, wit, and heroism among the tribes of the interior of Africa. A delightful book written in a most vivacious manner, which should have been in its tenth edition and not in the first only! Cf. the same author's *Das sterbende Africa (Dying Africa)*, vol. i, 1923, and his other works.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., for example, Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 1920, p. 358 seq. Here, however, he particularly warns against all generalizing acceptations of primeval democracy (p. 339).

<sup>5</sup> Many examples are to be found in Vierkandt, p. 181.

<sup>6</sup> Luschan, *Zusammenhänge*, p. 60; Westermarck, ii, 346; Ratzel, i, 99.

<sup>7</sup> More fully in this regard Hoernes, ii, p. 553 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Treitschke, *Politik*, 1897, vol. i, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> When he adds that only when race and nationality have reached a higher development can they exercise influence on art, he undoubtedly means nationality. But who can determine race among the highly cultured? Who can tell to what race Michelangelo belonged?

The bronze objects discovered in Benin and preserved in London and Berlin are of an astonishing beauty. Luschan published a brilliant work on them in 1919. Most of them date from the sixteenth century; the technique of the bronze casts, according to Luschan, is "perfect", they almost surpass European ones of the same period, and are decidedly "the finest which can be expressed in this form of art". Form and style are pure African, it is pure Nigger art. Later, however, owing to European influence, it fell into decay.

<sup>10</sup> Luschan, *Zusammenhänge*, p. 88; *Anth.*, v, 1910, pp. 50, 635. Frobenius, *Das sterbende Africa*, i, p. 73. There is also an invention based on meteorological observations which prevents the sound between the telegraphic stations being heard. Cf. Schmidt and Koppers, p. 681.

<sup>11</sup> Preuss, p. 79, cites other works also, including chemical and other inventions.

<sup>12</sup> Max Bartels, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, founded by T. Puschmann, edited by M. Neuburger and Jul. Pagel, 1902, vol. i.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the newest document of this kind, that profound and moving work by Theodor Lessing, *Untergang der Erde an Geist (The Decline of the World by Intellect)* treating, especially, the contrast between Europe and Asia, 1924. This also contains much that is valuable on race problems.

<sup>14</sup> Erland Nordenskiöld, *Indianer und Weisse in Nordostbolivien*, 1922.



<sup>15</sup> Cf. the description by E. D. Morel, *The Black Man's Burden*, 1920, and many other earlier writings (*Red Rubber*, 1906, a.o.).

<sup>16</sup> Cf., for example, the numerous photographs of Negro journalists in J. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and its Editors* (Springfield, 1891). Many of them undoubtedly show the professional face of the journalist.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. W. P. Livingstone, *Black Jamaica, a Study in Evolution* (London, 1899). His summing up is that: "The material proves sufficiently that the Negro is not behind the white man, but rather equal with him, given the right chance of development."

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, 1924, pp. 67-75; ZPs., 1916, p. 280; 1918, p. 300.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur Macdonald, *Man and Abnormal Man*, including a Study of Children, 780 pp., Washington, 1905 (State document No. 187, 58th Congress, 3rd Session), table p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> During the world war extensive psychological tests of intelligence were made among the American soldiers, and as was to be expected the Negroes received less marks than the whites. But what is most remarkable is that the number of marks among the whites and Negroes of like education in the Northern states showed only a slight difference while that between Negroes of the North and the South of the United States was very considerable. This is certainly a significant proof of the effect of education and environment. In the Northern States the educational conditions for Negroes are much better. Cf. Jerkes, *Psychological Examining in the U.S. Army*, 1921.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. B. T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, and, further, F. M. Holland, *Frederic Douglass* (New York, 1891), and *In Memoriam F. Douglass* (Philadelphia, 1897). Washington and Douglass, however, are to be considered as mulattoes, and they form a further proof of the thorough untenability of the legend of the evil consequences of crossings. It is impossible here to go further into the Negro question in America. For general information cf. Luschan, *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, p. 24, and in the *Kol. Rundschau*, 1915, pp. 504-40. Kate Brousseau, *L'éducation des nègres aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1904), gives an excellent and recent picture; it also contains a bibliography of 59 pages on the Negro question. For an inimical point of view Frédéric A. Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* (London, 1896) should be studied. Benjamin Brawley has studied the Negro problem in his *Social History of the American Negro*, 1921 (also concerning Liberia, 18 pages of bibliography). Cf. also E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem*, 1927, p. 429, on the essential equality in mental ability of the races.

<sup>22</sup> *Interracial Problems*, 1911, p. 336. In *The World To-morrow*, of March, 1922, p. 71, a number of famous coloured artists, inventors, scholars, etc., are named.

<sup>23</sup> Rob. Michels, "Wirtschaft und Rasse" (GS., vol. i), 1922.

<sup>24</sup> Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte*, i, p. 491. Cf. further, Bayer, "Ein sicherer Fall von prähistorischem Kannibalismus bei Hankenfeld, N.Oe.," in *MWAG.*, 1923, p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> Westermarck, i, 434; ii, 553, gives strong evidence for the whole problem.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. G. F. Schöemann, *Griechische Altertümer*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, 1863, p. 240 seq.; further, Herodot, vii, 197; Pausanias, iii, 16, 10; iv, 9, 4; ix, 17, 1.

<sup>27</sup> According to Festus, at such times the old Italians offered sacrifices (*ver sacrum*) of all living things to be born in the following spring; also the Jews offered human sacrifices, partly in times of national distress, partly as building sacrifices. Cf. Jos. vi, 26; Judges ix, 39; 1 Sam. xv, 33; 1 Kings xvi, 34; 2 Kings xvi, 3; xxi, 6.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Cæsar, *BC.*, vi, 16, 19; *Poseidonios*, Strabo, iv, 4, 5; *Pomp. Mela*, iii, 2, 15, 18; *Cicero pro Fonteio*, 10; *Diodorus*, v, 32.

<sup>29</sup> Mogk, *Menschenopfer bei den Germanen* in Publications of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences (phil. hist. class), xxvii, 1909, p. 603 seq., also refutes the tale that sacrifice was an act of punishment.

<sup>30</sup> Westermarck, pp. 442, 462.

<sup>31</sup> Hieronymus says he himself had seen when a young man in Gaul that the Scots, a British folk, ate human flesh. In spite of the fact that rich herds of swine and cattle were at hand, they cut off the breasts of women and the

buttocks of boys because they considered these as special delicacies (*ciborum delicias*).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Josef Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 4th ed., 1899, vol. i, pp. 699–74. Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland, Beiträge zur Volkskunde*, 1902, p. 26. Westermarck, i, p. 383 seq.

<sup>33</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (1875–99), leg. v, p. 37.

<sup>34</sup> Jakob Robinson, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, p. 68.

<sup>35</sup> B. Haendtké, *Deutsche Kultur im Zeitalter des 30 jährigen Krieges*, 1906, p. 407.

<sup>36</sup> According to Vierkandt, p. 338, where further proofs are to be found.

<sup>37</sup> Karl Reiterer, *Altsteirisches*, Graz, 1917.

<sup>38</sup> Therefore English "cup" corresponds to German "kopf" (head); Finnish "kuppi"; Basque "kopa". Cf. Feist, pp. 33, 227.

<sup>39</sup> Luschan, *Zusammenhänge und Konvergenz* (p. 78)—interesting examples. Cf. also Höfler, in *AA.*, 1913, p. 63, concerning Ireland.

<sup>40</sup> Enumeration by Schneider, *Die Naturvölker*, 1885, vol. i, p. 44 seq.

<sup>41</sup> Proof of this is given by Westermarck on "Bloodshed", i, 327 seq.; "Humanity," i, 526; "Hospitality," i, p. 570; "Altruism," ii, 186; "Love of Animals," ii, 490.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Haendtké, p. 405. An eyewitness tells how the Brandenburg troops treated the Turks before Ofen in 1683: "None were given grace, all were massacred, and in most cases they were skinned, the fatty parts were roasted, and the genitals cut off, dried, and put into big sacks. And of this they made precious mumia. They mostly cut up their intestines and examined them to see if perhaps something valuable, perhaps ducats, had been swallowed." Cf. *Meister Johann Dietz, des Grossen Kurfürsten Feldscher* (Autobiography), ed. by Dr. Consentius, 1919, p. 67.

<sup>43</sup> Rudolf Trebitsch, "Versuch einer Psychologie der Volksmedizin und des Aberglaubens," 1913 (from *MWAG.*). Cf. also Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Vergeichende Volksmedizin*, 2 vols., 1909.

<sup>44</sup> Within each race environmental influence causes differences and particularly a marked contrast between the Northern and Southern members of a group. Ratzel (*Anthropogeographie*, vol. i, 2nd edition, 1899, p. 556) proves this for Germans, Italians, Arabs, Chinese, Spaniards, etc. Cf. also Treitschke, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*, 7 Aufl., 1913, ii, p. 429.

<sup>45</sup> Woltmann, *Politische Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 237.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Heinrich Winkler, *Skizzen aus dem Völkerleben*, 1903 (treats of Finns and Magyars).

<sup>47</sup> Fries, *Abriß der Geschichte China*, 1884, pp. 86, 94, 136, etc.

<sup>48</sup> Henry Borel, in his *Weisheit und Schönheit aus China* (translated from the Dutch by E. Keller-Soden), gives a very beautiful description of this. The anthropologist Topinard had asserted that perspective was foreign to the Chinese. On this the art-historian Grosse (cited by Friedrich) wrote: "A pure anthropologist truly does not need to know that the Chinese possessed the most wonderful landscape painting at a time when the best European artists had still less sense of perspective than the youngest child in a village school of to-day. . . . The entire Mongolian race seems gifted by nature with a much finer feeling for the sensual beauty of line and colour than our race." Japanese art also had reached a very high standard and exercised a strong influence on modern European art. Those who have read Lafcadio Hearn's books on Japan will in the future take good care not to charge the Mongolians with soullessness, superficiality, etc.

<sup>49</sup> William Dalton Babington, *Fallacies of Race Theories*, 1895, pp. 240 to 277. A strong factor against progress is the extravagant piety towards parents; cf. P. J. Hoogers, "Théorie et pratique de la piété filiale chez les chinois," *Anth.*, 1910; and Max Weber, *Religionssoziologie*, vol. i.

<sup>50</sup> Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Leipzig, Verlag Markert und Petters, 1922), gives an excellent picture of modern tendencies and attainments among the Indians and Chinese. This book shows a universal knowledge of the subject and proves convincingly the intellectual unity of Asiatics and Europeans.

<sup>51</sup> Numerous such utterances might be cited. Cf., for instance, C. F. Rein, *Abessinien*, 1920, vol. iii, p. 310 ; M. Lamberg, *Brasilien*, 1899, pp. 32, 44.

<sup>52</sup> Karl Weule, *Negerleben in Ostafrika*, 1908, p. 513.

<sup>53</sup> P. W. Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschen*, 1910, pp. 111 seq., 137, 286 seq., 302.

<sup>54</sup> Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 1894, p. 520.

<sup>55</sup> Wilhelm Koppers, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, 1924, pp. 22, 92, 229 seq.

<sup>56</sup> Erich Franke, *Die geistige Entwicklung der Negerkinder*, 1915.

<sup>57</sup> Favourable experiences in a large educational institution are reported by Oldham, pp. 35, 74, 83.

<sup>58</sup> W. H. Rivers, *Psychology and Ethnology*, 1926, p. 53.

<sup>59</sup> Eugen Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*, 1913, p. 296. Professor Passarge says that the Negro is on an average superior in intelligence to our rustics, but that he is inferior in solid and steady character.

<sup>60</sup> Francis Galton, *Genius and Heredity* (German edition), 1910, p. 361.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Michels, "Wirtschaft und Rasse" (GS., vol. i), pp. 154, 162.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the official work, *Negro Population, 1790-1915*, Washington, 1918. The Christian periodical, *World To-morrow*, said in 1923 that at the time the Negroes were freed their property amounted to 20 million dollars, to-day it is 2,000 millions, they possess more than 50,000 businesses, and 20 banks with a capital value of 3.5 milliard dollars.

<sup>63</sup> Schmidt, *Anth.*, 1906, pp. 626, 636, 640, where various travelling researchers are cited ; further, Schmidt and Koppers, p. 39, and table 11, together with explanation.



## CHAPTER XII

### ON THE ALLEGED "RACIAL CHARACTER" OF THE TEUTONS

THE enormous uplift the Teutonic nations have undergone gives unquestionably proof of racial energies unsurpassed throughout the world. This stands firm, though it must be admitted that the Teutonic uplift has been favoured by a happy concurrence of geographical and historical circumstances, though it must be remembered that the Teutonic nations had the advantage of receiving the invaluable inheritance of highly developed earlier cultures. If we lay special stress on these facts, it is in order to confute the misrepresentation, now in vogue especially in Germany, that this development is exclusively the result of special aptitudes inherent in the Teutonic race. This conception overlooks that just the leading Teutonic nations, namely the Germans, the British, and the Americans, have in their composition considerable non-Teutonic blood strains and that their cultures have to a vast extent been built up out of foreign elements, mainly of Mediterranean and of Oriental origin. The popular glorification of the ancient Teutonic times is in many respects historically untenable. Its chief source is the *Germania* of Tacitus: but this book was written with an idealizing tendency in order to place before the eyes of corrupt Roman society the picture and example of an unadulterated primitive race, in the same way as the moralists of our eighteenth century used to apotheosize the "noble savage". Of course there was also a good deal of truth in it, for just the primitive peoples all the world over, in certain respects, offer a more attractive picture than the advanced ones. In this the tragical antimony of cultural progress becomes visible.

#### PARALLELS OF CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

The ancient Teutons in fact show a greater likeness to the primitive peoples all around the world than to the modern representatives of their race. The initiator of German philology, Johann Christoph Adelung,<sup>1</sup> remarked: "Therefore also the most striking analogies have often been stated between peoples of like cultural level and condition, though separated otherwise by time and

space. Reading, for instance, the descriptions of the life and customs of the savage tribes in Canada, one will not fail to recognize in their roving habits, their laziness, their passionate love for war and hunting, their bias for drink and gambling, their cruelty against enemies and in a thousand other circumstances the Suevi of Cæsar and Tacitus."

The similarity in fact is so obvious that it could not even long ago escape the notice of historians.<sup>2</sup> Thus Guizot in his *History of Civilization in France* drew parallels between the reports on the character of the ancient Teutons and the descriptions travellers and missionaries gave of the Red Indians. Count Gobineau, the apostle of Teutonism, involuntarily corroborated this comparison by depicting the Redskins of America<sup>3</sup> (whom he profoundly despised) in such a way as to liken them ridiculously closely to the noblest representatives of the noblest race, with the single difference that in one race he traces to base motives the very same actions which in the other arouse his highest admiration. The German missionary, P. O. Hennig, who on account of his own pastoral experiences is thoroughly acquainted with the character of the Negro, says<sup>4</sup>: "It is indeed striking to find in Karl Lamprecht's *German History* even late in the historic period of the German people such traits as one encounters to-day in the life of African tribes, for instance, the Kaffirs." Lamprecht himself formulates the result of his comprehensive historic studies as follows: "The stages of intellectual and moral development discoverable in the several periods of the German national evolution are absolutely identical with those found in the evolution of all nations of the globe without exception." Hirt<sup>5</sup> points out that there are most striking parallels between the descriptions of the life of the Kaffirs as given by Ratzel and the primeval Teutonic conditions. The race theorist, Woltmann, however, taxes with impudence all those who have stated similarities between Negroes and Teutons.

#### TEUTONIC FIDELITY

Freedom and fidelity, according to Chamberlain, are the fundamental qualities of the Teutonic character. "Fidelity towards one's own lord, chosen freely and spontaneously, is the most conspicuous trait in the character of the Teutons; this is the touchstone to prove whether a man has in his veins unadulterated Teutonic blood or not!" (i, p. 505). "One thing is sure: if you desire to account for the historic greatness of the Teutons by condensing it all into one word this word is fidelity. This is the centre from which to

survey the entire character, nay, the entire personality." The prerequisite of this unswerving Teuton fidelity, however, is free self-determination—the object to which one binds oneself in duty, be it a person, a country, or any other entity, must be of one's own free choice. As so much stress is laid on this one quality, it seems justifiable to make it the centre of our considerations.

Chamberlain's evidences for this assertion are not overwhelming. He advances the well-known story of the Frisian deputies in Rome who made a great fuss about the fidelity of their people; but this was certainly part of their diplomatic business, and the subsequent behaviour of the Frisians towards Rome did not exactly corroborate this fidelity.<sup>6</sup> Then Chamberlain brings forward the Teutonic mercenaries and life guards in Rome, whom he extols for their devotion. However, these Teutonic mercenaries in Roman service chiefly fought against their own countrymen. Also, in later times, we frequently find Teutonic mercenaries turn against their Roman employers. But is this Teutonic mercenary really so unique and without a parallel in history? Have there not been at all times poor and backward countries whose mountains, forests, or steppes could not feed the increasing populations, who sent forth their sons into richer countries where their strong arms were needed and paid for? In the centuries before Christ was not the Jewish mercenary to be found for the same reasons in the armies of all countries, until he was displaced by the trader? The Jewish mercenaries in fact were much appreciated, and it has been reported frequently that on account of their fidelity, positions and strongholds of peculiar importance were confided to their custody.<sup>7</sup> In more modern times it was the Swiss who sold their blood on all battlefields, and whose staunch fidelity is attested to this very day by the Lion of Lucerne. The Swiss, however, are predominantly of the Alpine stock, and therefore are not to be reckoned, anthropologically, among the Teutons. Already the sharp eye of Machiavelli noticed the anthropological contrast between Swiss and German soldiers.

Ancient writers tell us very little about the fidelity of the Teutons; what they do say, however, is exactly the same as we are told to this day of all barbarians, who when at peace and with their own tribes, are usually loyal in their dealings with one another. One hardly finds a primitive people not yet spoilt by civilization who do not possess this and other fine qualities. Volumes could be filled with proofs of this.<sup>8</sup> But this fidelity is restricted in typical respects. It in no way corresponds ethically to our conception of



the meaning of this word. Primitive loyalty is partly due to the absence of many incentives to disloyalty, which are the product of our civilization, and moreover it is mainly of a formal nature. It is the oath only which binds, namely, the thought that in breaking it, people bring evil upon themselves. No oath, no obligation.<sup>9</sup> Finally, this fidelity among primitive peoples, Teutons included, was only practised in their dealings with their own tribesmen and families and not towards adversaries. To the enemy we recognize certain obligations that would seem quite incomprehensible, nay even stupid to primitive man. Perfidy against the enemy is no fault, but a sign of laudable wisdom. The Teutons formed no exception. For the community at large no treaty was binding, even when sealed with the most sacred of oaths, so that the Teutonic faithlessness became proverbial with the Romans.<sup>10</sup> The assumption that a special degree of faithfulness was proper to the old Teutons such as in other peoples was wanting, may be traced back to feudal institutions and their forerunners. The lord and his retainers were bound by mutual promise of help and faithfulness. The lord was the leader, he provided his followers with food and arms and gave them a share of all booty. They on their part gave their service in war and peace. At a time when might was right and when the feeble possessed no rights this institution was necessary, the bond of fidelity was sanctified by social requirements. It is wrong, however, to assume that this was only a Teutonic custom. It is usual, to quote Tacitus (*Germ.*, xiv): "He who deserted the ranks after his lord had fallen in battle was deemed dishonourable and infamous till the end of his days." But this is a feature common to primitive peoples. If the Kaffir chief falls in battle, his bodyguard follow him in death; their very name "amafanankosi" (i.e. those who die with their chief) implies this. When the Cape government offered 1,000 heads of cattle for the capture of the chief Sandili not a single Kaffir moved a finger to gain this prize, though the possession of cattle is his god.<sup>11</sup> Among the non-Aryan Iberians of Spain and Gaul<sup>12</sup> likewise, the custom of dying with their chief prevailed. Of the Iberian Aquitanians Cæsar says (*Bellum Gallicum*, iv, 22): "Adiatunnus made a sally with 150 of his faithful followers, called 'soldurii'; they share life and property with those to whom they have sworn fidelity; in case misfortune befalls their leader they either share this with him or lay down their lives with him. No one single case has come down to us when a retainer has refused death after his lord had fallen in battle." Valerius Maximus relates of the Gauls that they held it a crime to survive him to whom they had

sworn fidelity with their lives and Cæsar tells (chap. vi, 19) that on the death of the lord all that he loved most in life was burnt with him, even to his favourite retainers and slaves. When Saul succumbed in the fight with the Philistines, he called upon his armour-bearer to slay him lest "these uncircumcised should thrust me through and abuse me". But his armour-bearer would not. Therefore Saul took a sword and fell upon it. And when his armour-bearer saw that Saul was dead he fell likewise upon his sword, and died with him, and all his men that same day together (1 Samuel xxxi, 4, 5).<sup>13</sup> David's faithfulness towards his master Saul who yet persecuted him is well known. We find also among the Chinese many examples of self-sacrificing fidelity and of followers falling at their own hands on the death of their masters. The practice which Cæsar noted among the Gauls, of retainers being sacrificed on the bier of their lord or killing themselves before it, was, in point of fact, very common in other races.<sup>14</sup> Thus, for instance, in Japan when a nobleman died, from ten to thirty of his servants of their own free will followed him in death by disembowelling themselves. When the late Mikado died the old custom was reintroduced by the conqueror of Port Arthur, General Nogi, who together with his wife committed harikiri. Similar customs have been witnessed among African and Indian tribes.<sup>15</sup> Many primitive peoples are fully convinced that in the next world they will continue in their former position towards their master. It is to this belief in a life hereafter that Appian traces the disdain of death shown by the Teutons in battle. The same motive was the moving spirit with many peoples in the killing of the aged and in the wholesale suicides of those American Negroes who by this believed they would attain freedom in the next world. This practice could only be prevented by cutting off the heads of the dead, for according to their belief there was no resurrection for the headless.

Fidelity did not go beyond the relations of retainership, and sometimes it showed itself in complete opposition to our modern conception of this term. In the German epic *Walthari* we read of the conflict between the love of a friend and the fidelity owed to the liege lord.<sup>16</sup> King Gunther attacks the home-returning Walther for motives of the vilest greed. Hagen, Walther's dearest friend, is Gunther's retainer. He beseeches him to refrain from this abominable act. When, however, he sees that the King is in danger of losing his honour at arms, Hagen's oath of fidelity prevails in him over his love for his old friend, although in touching words Walther calls his friendship to mind (verses 1,237-1,263). He

charges at his friend and wounds him by unchivalrous cunning. Affecting as the moral conflict and Hagen's self-sacrifice appear to us, we yet feel disturbed by this formal sort of fidelity which places feudal custom above the most sacred natural duties. One of the most touching passages in the *Nibelungenlied* is where the Margrave Rüdiger, after a hard inward conflict, sees himself forced to draw the sword for his liege lord Attila against his Burgundian kinsmen and friends. However, the literature of German chivalry is, of course, influenced strongly by Christianity and romance elements. The praise of chivalrous fidelity was probably a reaction against the then prevailing extreme perfidy, just in the same way as the yearning for peace of the pre-Christian Jews was the outcome of their ceaseless struggles and sufferings, and the sentimental praises of Nature in the eighteenth century were mere expressions of the reaction against the superfinement of contemporary culture.

We find an early picture of Teutonic morality in the *Edda*,<sup>17</sup> but we should search there in vain for fidelity as its essence. That even the Teuton gods were not particular in keeping their oaths should have become clear to Chamberlain at least through the poems of Richard Wagner. In the *Edda* there are worse things than oath-breaking. Logi is the embodiment of lying and deceit, and Odin also, the father of the gods, is not exactly an example of truthfulness. Thus the *Edda* tells how Odin betrays Suftung and Gundlada in spite of his "ring oath", the most holy of oaths. In a quarrel with the Thunderer, Odin boasts of other mean actions, which brings forth the retort that he has repaid good by evil. To this Odin replies cynically: "The one oak receives what is taken from the other. Every man for himself." And he in his turn calls the Thunderer a "breaker of the truth", which is violently refuted. Craftily and with no good reason, Odin incites the murder of near relatives. The rules of life as we find them in the *Edda*, it is true, enjoin fidelity to one's friend, but when one is not sure of a person one should fool him with cunning. Above all, women are shown as faithless, and it is therefore understandable if a man seeks to get the advantage of a woman and betrays her by fine words.

A race dogmatist must assume, according to this, that the present state of things in such matters is the direct outcome of the Teutonic spirit.

The most terrible conditions, however, will precede the world conflagration. Brothers will then murder each other and relatives



try to exterminate their whole kin. The spirit of greed will be dominant and nobody will spare his fellow man.

#### ENTRANCE OF THE TEUTONS IN HISTORY

The picture the *Edda* gives leads us to surmise that the singer believed the end of the world was not far off. And in truth this terrible description might indeed serve as an introduction to that chapter of history which deals with the first centuries after the Teutons appeared as founders of political entities on the soil of Roman civilization. For a right view of this Professor Felix Dahn seems the best authority; he is at once an enthusiastic admirer of the Teutons and a conscientious historian. In his *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* <sup>18</sup> he tells us that the very entrance of the Vandals into Roman Spain was made possible by the treachery of Teutonic mercenaries in the Roman army, who by this act hoped to escape the punishment threatening them for having plundered their own country. Their expedition into Africa was made under King Genserich, who seems to have had a special talent for intrigue. Although he had already concluded a treaty of peace, he nevertheless took Carthage "by trickery, perjury, and treason" (Dahn). His son had married a Visigoth princess, but he returned her to her father, King Theodoric, with her nose cut off in punishment, he said, for her having attempted to poison him. In order to prevent revenge we are told that he induced Attila by rich presents to attack the kingdom of the Visigoths. When blockaded by the Romans he sought and obtained a five days' armistice, during which time he made a treacherous attack on them. Another of Genserich's sons, Huneric, began that series of horrible family murders which in the long run destroyed the state. He murdered his brother's wife, her son, and all her relations. He commanded the Catholic bishops to swear a political oath, and when some of them refused, for the reason that Christ himself had forbidden such, he sent them into exile and servitude; and those who complied he punished for having broken Christ's word and forced them to field labour. His successor, Thrasamund, on his death-bed made his nephew Hilderic swear never to restore the Catholics to their ancient rights. He, however, avoided a formal breach of his promise by a mental reservation such as would have done credit to a Jesuit. Already under Genserich the nobles began that series of conspiracies which eventually led to their extermination.

The Ostrogoths of all Teuton peoples present the best aspect, from the standpoint of morality, to the historian. But even the

noble-minded Theodoric, celebrated in German epics as Dietrich von Bern, the greatest of all heroes, sullied his fame by his treacherous murder of his predecessor Odovakar. He had promised him life and royal honours, but later suspecting him of treachery, probably without reason, he invited him to dinner and then stabbed him to death with his own hands. His successors, Amalaswintha and her cousin Theodohad, independently of one another both betrayed their people to Byzantium, whereupon Theodohad breaking his solemn oath at once threw his cousin into prison and later caused her to be murdered. In the war that followed Byzantines and Goths each tried to win over the Franks to their side, but the latter took their money and then betrayed them. In the struggle the Ostrogoth King and nobility vied with one another in treachery, the one against the Byzantines, the other against their king. Finally, the Frankish King Theudibert with 100,000 warriors went to Italy, where he was welcomed joyously by the Goths as their ally. Hardly had he crossed the Po with their help when he seized their wives and children, and had them slaughtered as sacrifices to the gods, after which he ordered the bodies to be thrown into the river. As for the Franks, Procopius says, "they are the most treacherous of all peoples." They committed the same crime again and then proceeded to loot and plunder on their own account. One understands well how later the Goth King Wittichis preferred surrendering to the Byzantines rather than again accepting the proffered help of the Franks. Moreover, it frequently occurred in those wars that Goth garrisons when forced to capitulate took services with the Byzantines and fought against their own people. King Erarich was going to sell his subjects to Byzantium for gold and honours but was murdered in good time to prevent this. In the last act of the Ostrogoth drama the Franks undertook another such auxiliary expedition, but the valiant Aliger, the unconquered defender of Cumæ, preferred surrendering to the Byzantines to accepting the help of a people proverbial for their treacherous guile.

The Visigoths had obtained permission from the Romans to settle in Septimania but had no scruple in going beyond the territory marked in the stipulations. Family atrocities, so common in those times, were not wanting with them also. King Thorismund was murdered at the instigation of his brothers; when through loss of blood he was not able to defend himself one of his servants took all the weapons away and rushing into the room in seeming faithfulness, warned the king of his danger, but in truth he was

showing the way to the murderers. His brother and successor Theodoric suffered the same fate at the hands of another brother.

In the Spanish Visigoth kingdom a powerful landed aristocracy had arisen, favoured by the mountainous character of the country. The whole subsequent history of this kingdom is filled with their treachery and other abominations. The Frankish writer, Gregory of Tours, indignantly raises an outcry against "the abominable custom of the Visigoths attacking their king with the sword whenever they had a grudge against him and putting another man in his place".

When the Franks made an inroad into Spain the Goth general Theudigisl could easily have overthrown them, but a bribe won him over and he suffered the raiders to leave with all their booty. That he was murdered when he became king later was a matter of course.

Athanagil treacherously called the Byzantines into the country and with their help he became king. As an exception to the rule he is said to have died "a peaceful death". Dahn remarks that "what we know of these kings is little more than the manner in which they were murdered". "Nothing could make this uncurbed nobility, to whom rebellion and regicide had become the custom, keep their fealty, they could only be brought to obedience by fear."

Leovigilt resorted to drastic measures. Gregory says, "this king killed all those who had acquired the habit of murdering kings; not one of their males did he leave alive." But his own son Hermenegilt revolted against him, called the Byzantines and the Suevi into the country and attempted his father's life. Vanquished, he took sanctuary in a church. Finally, life and liberty were promised him. A year later he was seized and beheaded, probably on account of a new conspiracy. The Roman Church in later times canonized this dutiful son and laid on his father the stigma of having been a ruthless persecutor of the Catholics. Under his successors the monotonous sequel of treason and regicide recommenced anew.

King Kindasvinth tried to put an end to this; Fredegar tells the following about him among other things: "He was aware of the evil custom among the Goths of dethroning their kings, because he himself had often made one of the conspirators—therefore he was well acquainted with the haughty families from which the danger threatened and he knew well how to strike them." Thus he was said to have put to death 200 males of the first families, and some 500 of the minor ones, their wives and daughters having been shared out among the adherents of the king. But this was of



little avail, for his successor met the usual fate. It is also a well-known fact that the Arab invasion of Spain was favoured by some of the Goth magnates, who, in the decisive battle, went over to the enemy and thus brought about the end of the Goth rule.

The earliest material from which we are able to form an opinion as to the character of the West Teutons is found in the war reports of the imperial epoch of Rome. The continually repeated complaint of the Roman historians was that the barbarians, reckless of peace treaties, ever and again invaded Roman territories. When one remembers, however, that the nations of the north were frequently driven to their warlike enterprises by overpopulation and internal strife one will be inclined to be milder in judging their treacherous ways. The Romans, besides, had no right to complain about the perfidy of their adversaries in war, for they themselves often set very bad examples. Roman gold always found open hands among the Teutons; deserters and corruptible persons offered themselves in plenty. Even the Teutons in Roman service were not always found unswerving. The celebrated battle of the Teutoburg Forest (Dahn calls it "one of the most perfidious breaches of international law") seems justified only when regarded as an act of national defence. Armin, the Cheruscan, who himself had been raised to the dignity of a Roman knight, had lulled the Roman general Varus to such a sense of security that he disregarded all warnings. He then guilefully enticed him from out of his strong position into a swampy forest, where he pounced down upon the legions marching trustfully as in times of peace and in the country of friends. On the very same day all the Romans in the country were attacked and killed. Armin, however, fell by the treachery of his own nationals. Tacitus relates that Adgandestier, a prince of the Catti, asked Tiberius to send poison to remove Armin. The Emperor, however, sent him word that it was not the custom of the Romans to take revenge on their enemies by secret cunning but in open fight. Nevertheless the liberator of Germania fell at the hands of assassins of his own family. The Batavian Civilis also, whose heroic deeds were far greater than those of Armin, could in the end only save his own life from the treachery of his own people by going over to Rome. "The most extreme faithlessness" of a prince of the Alemanni and the admirable talent for deceit and intrigues of another of this tribe have been pointed out by Roman historians.<sup>19</sup>

Above all, however, it was the Franks whose faithlessness excited the execration of the Romans. Vopiscus says of them "that they

used to break their faith with a laugh". "The slippery false people" (*lubrica fallaxque*) they were commonly called. Subsequent history fully confirms this epithet. We possess uninterrupted historical sources since Merovingian times from Chlodwig downwards. This monster butchered all his nearest relations in cold blood; not in honest fight but by malicious intrigue, secret assassination, and open brutal murder he removed seven kings whom we know by name, and a large number of others of his kin, and then seized their land and property. What is most remarkable in this is the equanimity and even the applause with which these crimes were regarded by the retainers of the murdered lords whose duty it should have been to revenge their deaths! First he instigated the Ripuarian prince Chloderic, by whetting his avarice, to kill his own father, King Sigibert. When the deed was done the new king offered Chlodwig a share of the treasures he had won. He sent an embassy for his share which was received kindly by Chloderic, but in the act of stooping to take the valuables from the chest in which they were deposited he was fallen upon and murdered. Immediately Chlodwig convoked the murdered king's subjects, accused him of paricide, and maintained that he had been slain by an unknown hand, hypocritically adding: "This deed has not been done at my wish for I would not shed the blood of my kinsman! This would be a dire crime!" Yet Chlodwig took possession of land and property; in the words of Bishop Gregory of Tours: "God day by day overthrew Chlodwig's enemies and increased his kingdom as a reward for having walked righteously in His ways and having done what was pleasing in His sight." Later on he prepared the like fate for King Chorarich and his son. The manner in which he treated King Ragnachar is more interesting. He bribed the nobles at the court of this prince and made them hand over his kingdom. When Ragnachar and his brother Richarius were brought in chains before him, Chlodwig hewed down the former with his battleaxe on the pretext that by having suffered himself to be put in fetters he had brought dishonour upon his family of which he also was a member, and he put his brother to death for not having hindered this shame! Presently the traitors discovered that Chlodwig's gold was counterfeit, nothing but gilded brass! To their protest he answered that traitors merited nothing better, they should be glad at having preserved their lives. Then came the turn of their brother Rignomer. "But he put out of the way many other kings and kinsmen," tells Gregory of Tours, by which means Chlodwig grew richer in lands and treasures. Before an

assembly of his men he spoke as follows: "Woe betide me who must live a stranger among strangers and have no kinsman to assist me in times of trouble! But this utterance came not from his heart for sorrow, it was but a cunning trick to learn if any were yet alive that he might slay him." Chlodwig's kingdom was divided among certain of his brothers, of whom Chlodomar was the first to die. His brothers Chlotachar and Childebit who should have been guardians of his minor sons, had them brought before them under the pretext of setting them on the throne, and then cruelly and treacherously killed the princes with their own hands. The numerous attempts of the brothers to kill one another are too monotonous to bear mentioning.

It was Chlodwig's successors who at the same time engaged themselves with the Ostrogoths and the Byzantines, then at strife with one another, and deceived both. This they did by employing troops of non-Frankish nationality against the Byzantines in Italy, so that they could clear themselves with the Romans on the plea that these hosts acted on their own behalf and without knowledge of the Frankish kings. How the Franks behaved in Italy has been described in the foregoing. It is needless to say that when the gold extorted from the Goths came to be divided among the Merovingian brothers each tried by cunning to overreach the other.

This was the general characteristic of the entire subsequent history of the Franks, as given by Gregory in his matchless graphic manner. It is true it bores one in the end to read of nothing but brutal force and sneaking treachery. The Frankish kings and the members of their family were ahead of all others in treachery against both kinsmen and friends and in perfidiousness toward the enemy. But their subjects also, the army, and above all the great and powerful, excelled in this quality. Regicide and slaughter were not the privilege of individual single brutes alone. The fact becomes most clear to us that all the enormities committed at that time originated in that peculiar institution which has so often been eulogized as the embodiment of all faith and honour, namely the nobility. Guntchram Boso, the mighty leader of the Frankish nobility, was typical in this respect. "He hardly ever gave his word to a friend and did not break it immediately." "He was unscrupulous in his dealings, most greedy for the property of others, he promised everything to everybody on oath, yet he deceived everybody," says Gregory. It was a Teuton priest, Rikulf by name, whose favourite maxim was that a shrewd man can only be over-



reached by perjury. On the other hand, if a man stood by his word, it was praised as an exception.

A more insolent and perfidious set than this aristocracy is unknown to history. Compacts were made with the Saracens against their own sovereigns without the slightest scruple, following in this the example of the Visigoth nobles. It is touching to read how one of the descendants of Chlodwig begged his own people for his life. King Guntchram never even went to church without being armed from top to toe and being strongly guarded. One Sunday before Mass was performed he addressed the congregation in the following words: "I beseech you men and women here present to preserve unswervingly the faith you have sworn me. Kill me not as you have done my brothers; my wish is to live at least still some three years, that I may bring up my nephews whom I have adopted as my sons, and that things may not happen which the eternal God would forbid, that when I am no more on this earth they and yourselves would perish and there be none of our race left to defend each and all." When he had finished speaking the whole congregation lifted up their voices in prayer to God for the King. Even under Charlemagne conspiracies were made against his life and once even his own son Pepin headed the list of the conspirators. Teutonic law saw a special vileness in crimes where the perpetrator did not act openly and on his own responsibility. Yet many underhand dealings were committed at that time and with such cool craftiness that one is at a loss which to choose as examples out of the plenitude of cases offered. King Chilperic deliberately sent his son Chlodovech to a plague-infested place, hoping he would get it thereby and die without attracting attention. This device failed, and his step-mother Fredegunde had him stabbed, giving out that he had died by his own hand. This same Fredegunde, who had innumerable bloody deeds on her conscience, had to suffer ill-usage at the hands of her daughter, Rigunthis, who was in the habit of cruelly beating her mother. Therefore she once pleasantly asked her to choose some jewels out of a chest and when she stooped to look at them banged the lid down on her head, and then tried to throttle her. While embracing and swearing devotion one friend drives steel into the heart of the other. Once when 9,000 Bulgars, together with their wives and children, sought refuge under King Dagobert, he assigned domiciles to them in different parts of Bavaria and then in one night had them all done to death.

The conceptions of these people that loyalty simply consisted

in the observation of certain forms and that treachery could be made good by such forms were specially characteristic. Ebroin enticed his enemy Martinus out of his stronghold by taking an oath on a shrine filled with holy relics to spare his life. Needless to say that Martinus was put to death together with all his retinue, for the crafty Ebroin had taken the precaution to remove the precious bones beforehand. In the same way when King Chilperich, violating his oath, entered Paris, he had the relics of many saints carried in front of him in order to avert the consequences of his perjury. William the Conqueror, when Duke of Normandy, tricked Harold into taking an oath that he should succeed Edward the Confessor. Harold did not hesitate to make a promise which he did not intend to keep, as he believed the chest on which he swore contained only the bones of minor saints. But William had been so shrewd as to have it filled secretly with the relics of the most mighty saints.<sup>20</sup>

Let us now turn to the history of other Teutonic tribes of which, however, much less is known than of the Franks. Here, too, we find the same family atrocities and regicides among the Thuringians, Lombardians, and Burgundians as with the Franks and Goths. Again, it is the women who bring so much evil about mainly out of sensuality; and here again it is the nobles who hold the chief place for treachery. "Revolts, regicides, aspirations for the crown, underhand treaties with the Popes or the Emperor were only too frequently made by these dukes, who in this resembled the Visigoths and Merovingian nobles" (Dahn).

But it should be mentioned also that Longobardian history in our opinion gives the most exemplary cases of devoted fidelity in early Teutonic history, namely, that of the friends of Perctarit, and of Sesuald and of Decan Seno.

In order not to weary the reader we will restrict ourselves to mentioning in a few words that internal conditions among the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians were no better. The chronicles give a monotonous list of happenings of this kind, which correspond entirely to what we have said.<sup>21</sup>

Race dogmatists, who in support of their assertions welcome the most threadbare sophistry, have raised the plea that the conditions depicted above were but the effect of the incipient race-crossings between Teutons and other stocks. Chamberlain, especially, has a bias to set everything down to the alleged bad example of the Romans. "Not as barbarians but as children the Teutons entered history, as children who fell into the hands of old experienced debauchers" (Chamberlain, p. 516).<sup>22</sup> One only

need call to mind the guileless children Chlovis and Fredegunde ! Moreover, one must remember, too, firstly, that beyond the sphere of Roman civilization, conditions were almost as bad ; secondly, that exactly where crossings were easiest, i.e. with Ostrogoths and Longobardians, things were relatively favourable, though these peoples lived nearest Roman pollution and in the very midst of " chaotic " Italy. The history of the Ostrogoths is the one bright spot in early Teutonic history ; finally, the worst things of all happened among the Visigoths and Franks. The latter for a long time mixed less than other tribes with the conquered,<sup>23</sup> because instead of following the usual custom of sharing the land with the vanquished the victors settled down in masses apart. When the Visigoths invaded Roman territory they found there the law of Valentinian and Valens forbidding Romans on pain of death to marry with the barbarian. This law Alaric II took over into his Code ; moreover, the difference in religious belief prevented intermarriage of the Catholic Romans with the Aryan Goths. This marriage bann prevailed till seventy years after the establishment of religious unity, when it was removed by Rekisvinth, shortly before the end of the Goth rule in Spain.

Those acquainted with history need no picture of the faithlessness which entirely pervaded the highly extolled phase of chivalry.<sup>24</sup> The vassal often held to his lord as long as he feared he could be deprived of his land, or he needed his protection. The moment those motives no longer existed fidelity as a rule took wing. The best proofs of loyalty we find among the lower classes of retainers,<sup>25</sup> whose existence in point of fact was closely bound up with that of their lord and who being unfree could not derive any advantage from treason. According to race theorists, however, these classes rarely belonged to the same race as their lord. The nobles often aspired for might and independence over the heads of their liege lords.<sup>26</sup> It is true chivalrous poets often extolled faithfulness, yet the reality seldom corresponded to such ideals. A counterpart of European feudalism is found in Japan, and it is surprising to see repeated there many single features of chivalry, the exaggerated conception of honour, the praise of fidelity, proofs of devoted loyalty among the lower vassals and utter disregard of it among the higher ones.<sup>27</sup>

Needless to say that the moral conceptions of the Teutonic nations have entirely changed since those times, and there is no doubt that their present ideas of fidelity and loyalty are incomparably higher. This, however, is quite contradictory to the



fundamental principle of race theories, that the race character does not change.

#### FREEDOM AND POLITICAL TALENT

Our description of conditions in early Teutonic times throws light also on two other phrases, namely, the alleged sense of freedom and political talent of Teutons. Chamberlain says: "The Teutons first gave to the world the idea of a personal freedom" and he deduces their right to freedom from their innate character; they before all other peoples have an inherent capacity for freedom. However, the love of freedom or independence can be found in all primitive peoples, strongest perhaps in the lowest and most savage, the Bushmen of South Africa.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Chamberlain maintains "that most people are incapable of even forming a conception of what freedom means". In the Semites especially the capacity of being free and the wish for freedom are wanting entirely. Yet Chamberlain himself admits that the Jews struggled against Rome for their liberty and cites the words of Judas of Galilee, "God alone is Lord, Death is as naught, Freedom everything." If Chamberlain says of the Semites that they were only fit for despotism and anarchy, the two opposites of freedom, we think that this holds good of many races at certain stages of development. Seneca said very well: "*Omnes istæ feritate liberæ gentes leonum luporumque ritu ac servire non possunt, nec ita imperare.*" Dahn has rejected more than once the legend of the political capacity of the early Teuton conquerors,<sup>29</sup> and it reads like sheer irony indeed. Their administration was upheld by the remains of Roman civilization. Latin scribes and Roman senators performed in the old routine what seemed indispensable in the way of administration. It seems, however, that Chamberlain, though British born, does not consider Anglo-Saxon political institutions as Teutonic. In his biography of Richard Wagner<sup>30</sup> he sums up the composer's political creed, which in his opinion is also the "mute will of the entire Teutonic race", as "an absolute sovereign and a free people". Even constitutional monarchy, he says, is a "foreign, a non-Germanic conception". Breysig<sup>31</sup> rightly says that one of the most untenable assertions in German popular historiography is the statement that the monarchical form of government is, as it were, innate in the Teutonic race. On the contrary, the idea of the absolute power of the sovereign is everywhere to be traced back to the conception of the state in the

imperial epoch of Rome. The Teuton kings in reality could be deposed at the will of their subjects, and the final decision on important questions rested with the people and was voiced in their public assemblies.

### THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Esteem of women is often lauded as a special feature of the Teutons, but the same, and sometimes even to a higher degree, has been observed in many primitive peoples.<sup>32</sup>

We often feel reminded by such races of the words of Tacitus: "They believe that something sacred and prophetic dwells in women and therefore do not despise their advice nor disregard their sayings."<sup>33</sup> Female prophetesses and priestesses are widespread over the whole world. Sometimes they exercise great influence on politics and even on battles. What Tacitus says of the Teuton women on the battlefield is true of the Arabian ones too.<sup>34</sup> The Kabyl women help their husbands in their combats, and of the Herero women Chapman says: "In war and hunting they often do most desperate things in order to encourage the men or to put them to the blush."

Josephat Hahn relates how in one of the first encounters with the Namaque tribes, Herero women and girls, who were watching a fight, came to the help of their men at the decisive moment and thus secured victory for them. The same has been told of Australian aborigines and other primitive people. The women of the Rhætians fought so desperately against the Romans that when they had shot all their arrows, they flung their children into the enemies' faces.

Polygamy was not unknown among the Teutons, but this was only practised by the rich and powerful, just as in other races. According to Adam of Bremen, polygamy was frequent among the North Teutons. Schrader points out that all Indogermanic peoples were polygamous, with the exception of the Greeks and the Romans, who at a very early period adopted monogamy, though not in a strict sense, and that their monogamous institutions are traceable perhaps to Oriental influences. Tacitus (Chapter XIX) opposes to the moral depravity of Rome a picture of the pure life of the Teutons, their sound sexual morals, abhorrence of adultery, etc. Cæsar says of them that they held sexual intercourse before the age of twenty as opprobrious, and that their sensual appetites were not excited by bathing in common and by the frequent sight of nudity.<sup>35</sup> Yet this completely changed

after the Teutons had conquered the Roman Empire.<sup>36</sup> The Merovingian kings and princes had their concubines, even in boyhood, which fact greatly contributed to their degeneracy. King Dagobert had three legitimate consorts and quite a host of concubines. The daughters of Charlemagne, though none of them was burdened with a husband, all had children and no harm was seen in this. Adultery was punished, and cruelly too, in women only; men were not restricted, and children born out of wedlock had from the very beginning the same rights as legitimate ones. Thus we see that sexual morality was the product of a determined stage of civilization and therefore cannot be considered as a manifestation of the racial spirit; besides, the idea of what constitutes morals then and now differs in some degree. Equal rights for women in sexual matters and the obligation of conjugal fidelity in the husband also are the products of Christianity, and this is why among the Teutons as with other less civilized peoples, it found the most fervid adherents among women. Strict sexual ethics and conjugal fidelity, moreover, are also met with among low races, though sometimes not quite corresponding to our notions. With some peoples adultery is severely punished in the women, while at the same time husbands have no hesitation in lending their wives. Thus it was a custom among the Scandinavian Teutons for the host to offer his wife or daughter to a highly honoured guest. Many such customs show that husbands saw in adultery mainly an infringement of their rights of ownership.<sup>37</sup> In such early stages of cultural development (with the Teutons of an earlier epoch also) the wives were generally bought, and therefore they constituted part of the husband's property. Westermarck<sup>38</sup> enumerates primitive peoples whose morality goes even beyond that related of the Teutons. Among them both the seducer and seduced are often punished by death, the young men are kept strictly apart from the girls, etc. It has been said of the Negroes that their morality stands in inverse proportion to the amount of clothing they wear, so that the less they have on the better their morals, and vice versa. The Teutons, we are told by ancient writers, went about nearly naked. Thus we cannot find that they in matters of sexual ethics show special features proper to them alone. Advanced moral ideas are certainly not restricted to one race.<sup>39</sup>

#### KILLING THE AGED

The family life of the ancient Teutons differed in no way from that of other primitive people. The custom prevailed with many



peoples of getting rid of the old and disabled by drowning, killing, or burying them alive, often it may have been with the consent of the victims themselves, who in this way saw an escape from the hardships of nomadic life. Jakob Grimm collected considerable evidence and reminiscences of this custom among the Teutons and other races.<sup>40</sup> Some Roman writers remembered this old usage and set it down in their books. We find its traces throughout the Middle Ages among the Slavonic tribes of North-East Germany. Zeiller wrote in the year 1656 : " It was a lawful custom in the land of the Wagers, as also among other Wends, especially round about Lüneburg, that children killed their aged parents and kinsmen, and all those unfit for war or work, after which they cooked and ate their flesh ; or they buried them alive, and they on their part chose to die rather than live a hard and sorrowful old age."

#### CONTEMPT OF WORK, WAR, DRINKING, ROBBERY

The manner of living among the Teutons was very simple. When there was no war to offer a welcome diversion, they passed their days in happy idleness. They disdained bodily work and even hunting was on account of its fatigue not always to their taste, as we learn from Tacitus (*Germ.*, 14). Cæsar is not in accordance with Tacitus here, but he writes of other tribes than those observed by Tacitus, and also on an earlier stage of their civilization. Household work and field-labour were left to the women, old people, weaklings, and slaves, while the Teuton masters spent their days feasting, carousing, and gambling. Of the Teutons the same may be said as Herodotus wrote of the Thracians : to pass their days in idleness was conceived by them as the happiest state, tilling the ground the most base. According to Tacitus a special peculiarity of the Teutons was their unrestrained license in drinking and gambling : at times a man even gambled away his own freedom and held strictly by his loss. But precisely the same excesses are common among many races. Malays, Polynesians, and Red Indians are known to have gambled away their personal liberty and that of their families. The fearful ravages a taste for alcohol wrought among the Red Indians, the aborigines of Australia, Siberians, and likewise to numerous other peoples makes it apparent that " great thirst " is not a speciality of the Teutons alone. The reason why the peoples of the North are specially fond of liquor is pertinently explained by Grotjahn : " The heavy Northerner who is forced to pass almost all his days in a close room or under an unfriendly sky, and who from surrounding nature can derive

but scanty friendly impressions, feels much more the desire to procure some sort of happy feeling by artificial means than the Southerner who dwells under a pleasant sky in common intercourse with his fellow men. His easily excited imagination has no need of stimulants to bring him into a happy mood." <sup>41</sup> Precisely in the purest Teutonic lands, Scandinavia, however, the anti-alcohol movement has made the most rapid strides, from which it appears that racial characteristics are not so very strong and constant as race theorists seem to think.

In their war morality also primitive peoples frequently resemble one another. Tacitus tells us that it was not considered disgraceful among the Teutons to flee from the battlefield, but to lose one's shield in the flight was a dishonour. The same is said of the Zulus. Even scalping was not unknown to the Teutons ("*Capillos et cutem detrahare, capillos cum ipsa capitis pelle detrahare*"), the Franks even scalped as late as 879, the Slavs in the tenth century (Adelung). Human sacrifice was common; even the Christian Teutons at times relapsed into this custom, especially with their war prisoners. <sup>42</sup>

Raiding, Cæsar says of the Teutons, was not held a shame. Neither is it among other races. Even in recent times the Scottish Highlanders considered it a disgrace to steal a sheep, but only because of its small value; to take a cow was of some account; while to steal a hundred cows was a noble deed.

#### RELIGION

Of late years it has often been maintained that a specially mystical and anti-rationalistic conception of Christianity is peculiarly congenial to the Teutonic spirit, and that for this reason and owing to their extreme love of independence the Teutons from the very beginning have been hostile to Roman theocracy. Arianism is explained as the first Protestant movement, although as we have shown in the foregoing it contains just such elements as race dogmatists reject in the Catholic Church as being "un-Teutonic". In reality, however, the adoption of Christianity by the Teutons in general, and of its several denominations in particular, had nothing to do with deep religious reasons. Political and economic conditions mainly were decisive. Chlodwig promised in battle to join the Catholic if their God granted him victory. He and his successors whenever they gave the Church property or privileges made no secret of the purely worldly motives prompting them. The Visigoth king, Rekared, declared openly that he had changed

Arianism for Catholicism for purely political reasons. The great Anglo-Saxon apostle of the Germans, Wilfried, was successful in converting the Friesians; for we are told naively that "just when he came to Friesland fishing was prospering unusually, and there was a great plenty of all things, a fact which the heathens attributed to the influence of that God about whom the stranger spoke". Some were drawn by the prospect of a future life, others for material reasons. "None of thy people have served the gods more assiduously than myself," said the priest Coifi, "and yet many are more favoured and happier. Were there more good in these gods they would help their votaries." Then he sprang on horseback, threw his spear into the holy temple of Godmanham, and with all others of the Witenagemot of Northumbria accepted the religion of the king. Kings were frequently converted by their queens, for the new religion gave to women a more sure and honourable place than did heathenism.<sup>43</sup> Large parts of Germany received Christianity at the point of the sword. Charlemagne in his efforts to convert the Saxons resorted to bribery of the nobles by gifts of land, so that a contemporary said: "More Saxons have been won over by bribery than by the sword"—the same motives occur again and again. There is no trace of the Teutons having shown any mystical yearning for redemption, as it is the fashion to say among certain race theorists.<sup>44</sup>

Chamberlain calls the Reformation "a revolt of the Teutonic spirit against the un-Teutonic tyranny of souls". It is very questionable whether Catholics exercised a more drastic soul-tyranny than certain Protestants, if one considered that the former religion is of far older standing than the latter. Buckle says that the tyranny of the Scottish Presbyterian clergy can only be compared to conditions in Spain. The victory of Protestantism was everywhere determined by social and political factors. The ideas of reformation were much older and wider reaching in the Latin countries <sup>45</sup> than in Teutonic ones, but the soil was wanting. In Germany, England, Scotland, Sweden, etc., the worldly rulers were more eager to put the rich property of the Church into their own pockets than to occupy themselves with theological arguments. It was the small sovereigns in Germany especially who were the most eager for Church property, while the Emperor was too weak to hold them back. In England the Reformation was forced by the desire of a Celtic-French king to obtain a divorce from his queen (which the Pope had refused), and at the same time he saw a good opportunity to strengthen his political absolutism by making himself head of the Church.



In his belief, however, he remained an orthodox Catholic and had so little sympathy for Protestantism that he wrote to a German prince that "it would be well to burn Luther together with all his writings".<sup>46</sup> The false policy of the popes furthered this course. Pope Clement VII was anything but sincere in his struggle against Lutherism, he felt himself more an Italian prince than the head of Christianity. For political reasons he fought against the Emperor Charles V, the strongest stay of Catholicism in Germany, and by this compelled him to give way to the heretics in Germany. When the Emperor obtained the upper hand the Pope, in deference to Charles, was forced to refuse his consent to the divorce of Henry VIII from Katherine of Aragon, his aunt, and by this act he brought about the schism in England. The policy of Clement everywhere favoured the adversaries of the Church, and after having caused the loss of England by his alliance with the Emperor, he once more turned against Charles and through the medium of the King of France sought an alliance with the German Protestants against their Emperor, who on his part was now forced to curry favour with the Lutherians. These circumstances led to the Treaty of Nuremberg, which made possible the quick spread of Protestantism in Germany.<sup>47</sup> In subsequent history also we see that everywhere political and social conditions, such as have nothing in common with the racial spirit, favoured the progress of the Reformation. In France the peasants, with the help of the Crown, had succeeded in breaking the power of economic feudalism and to a vast extent had gained by these efforts freedom of person and property. When here too the nobility sought to turn the Reformation to their own personal advantage they were overthrown by the king and the third estate. In Germany where the peasant conditions were far more unfavourable even than in France the Reformation kindled the social revolution, but no German emperor came to the help of the peasants in their desperate struggle, although the emperors might have availed themselves of their strength to rid themselves of their obnoxious territorial despots. The revolt of the peasants was drowned in their blood by the princes, and Luther himself instigated this bloodshed.<sup>48</sup>

To sum up: we would be the last to deny that the Teutonic peoples possess the most eminent qualities, by dint of which they incontestably stand in the front row of civilization, but at the same time we do not forget what they owe to the ancient world and the ancient Orient, to foreign influences from without and to the co-operation of numerous non-Teutonic elements from within.

All this is the result of cultural evolution, achieved by strenuous and devoted efforts. Only crass folly finds in the "Teutonic" inheritance all that is good and in foreign influences all that is bad. Such traits of the early Teutons as are maintained to be peculiarly characteristic to this race alone are found in many primitive peoples at a like stage of development, and even in striking similarity to the Teutons.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. C. Adelung, *Aelteste Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1806, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> The Jesuit Missionary Pater Lafiteau treated exhaustively the close accord between the customs of ancient primitive peoples and those of the Indians. J. F. Lafiteau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, 6 vols., Paris, 1724.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich, *Studien über Gobineau*, p. 126, quoting Seillièvre.

<sup>4</sup> Hennig, *Kampf um die Negerseele*, 1907, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> H. Hirt, *Indogermanen*, i, p. 214.

<sup>6</sup> This praise of German fidelity has mostly been erroneously attributed to Tacitus. As a point of fact, however, a Teutonic embassy said this of itself. *Germania*, 24, should also be mentioned (fidelity at dice-playing).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Proofs in Holtzmann, *Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens und die Entstehung des Christentums* (in Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1888, vol. ii), pp. 276, 284, 291, 367, 371 seq., 402, 444, etc. In many places their fidelity is specially lauded.

<sup>8</sup> Westermarck gives a very large number of examples in *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, 1908, p. 72 seq.

<sup>9</sup> See Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i, pp. 181-2. In the Nordic *Sigurd Saga* the princes Gunard and Högny wanted to kill Sigurd, but as they had sworn blood-fraternity with him they did not murder him themselves but urged their third brother, who had not taken this oath, to do this. Cf. Karl Hegel, *Städte und Gilden der germanischen Völker im Mittelalter*, 1891, vol. i, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt*, vol. i, 1895, p. 189. In the supplement to vol. i, p. 477, the writer gives several examples. Strabo, vii, 1, 4: "Again they fell off, leaving fidelity and hostages in the lurch. Distrust is of great service in dealing with these men, those who trusted them have suffered exceedingly." *Hist. Aug. Firm.*, xiii, 4: "The Franks, whose custom it is to break their oath with a laugh." *Eumen paneg.*, ii, 11: "That pusillanimous and deceitful barbaric people" (this is a common designation for the Franks). The same writer in iv, 4, and ix, 22, applies the same expression to them. *Ammianus*, xvii, 6, 1: "They broke the peace and the union for which they had prayed"; xxxi, 10, 2: "Hardly was the union concluded when they broke it." *Salv. de gub. dei*, iv, 14, 65: "Faithless are the barbarians"; vii, 15, 64: "The perfidious Goths"; *Rutil. Namat.*, i, 112: "May the Goths bow their faithless heads in fear." *Procop.*, 6, 9, ii, 25: "Then they at once forgot their oaths and treaties which they had just concluded with the Romans and Goths—for this people is the most faithless of all the world." *Velleius Paterculus*, ii, 118: "They (the Teutons) are what one would hardly believe, had not experience taught it, with all their great ferocity, extremely sly and a people born to lie," etc. The most important writer of the history of German culture, Georg Steinhausen, *Geschichte der deutschen Kultur*, 1904, p. 14, says: "One estimates another quality of the Germans, their fidelity, far too high. . . . They were not true in the sense of morality from a moral sense of duty, but rather a *gens perfida* who did not mind in the least breaking their engagements."

<sup>11</sup> Kropf, "Die religiösen Anschauungen des Kaffern," *VBG.*, 1888, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Diercks, *Geschichte Spaniens*, 1895, i, p. 73; Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vol. i, 2nd ed., 1887, p. 16. Extraordinary cases of fidelity among the clans of the highlands of Scotland are given by Lecky in his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (German ed., vol. ii, 1880, p. 31).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also vassalage among the Arabs (Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, 1868, p. 344); Fehr (*Hammurapi und das salische Recht*, 1910, p. 140) refers to the great affinity between the conditions of vassalage in old Babylonia and with the Franks.



<sup>14</sup> Cf. Feist, *Kultur*, p. 347.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Robinson, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, chap. viii, p. 133 seq., and Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (Germ. ed., 1877, vol. i, p. 232 seq.). Fries, *Abriss der Geschichte Chinas*, 1884, p. 78. Hegel, in his *Philosophy of History* (Reclam, p. 182), reports a very interesting case in China.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Waltharius*, edited by Scheffel and Holder, 1874.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Die Edda* (German translation by Wolzogen, pp. 47, 70, 79, 193, 220, 259 seq., and further on Sigurd's murder of Fafnir and the naive praise of this heroic deed, Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, p. 87, vol. i, where he says: "The single person enjoyed in olden times a freedom to commit violence compared to which the Merovingian deeds of a Fredegunde may yet be considered as a moral progress."

<sup>18</sup> F. Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, 4 vols., 1881-9. In the second edition of this book I have cited about a hundred proofs and cases, which are here omitted.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also Schiemann, *Victor Hehn, Ein Lebensbild*, 1894, p. 190 seq.

<sup>20</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, vol. i, p. 527.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Green, *Short History of the English People* (German edition, vol. i, 1889, p. 48); Robertson, *The Saxon and the Celt*, pp. 86 seq.; Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Angelsachsen*, 1883, pp. 31-2, 107, 145.

<sup>22</sup> Even Lamprecht (i, 242, 254) would like to put down the abominable deeds of the Visigoths to the evil influences of the Roman provincial nobility, but how does this fit with his assertion that in comparison with the olden Teutonic times even the deeds of a Fredegunde may be considered as proofs of moral progress?

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the remarks on the prevention of mixings in Daresté de la Chavanne, *Histoire des classes agricoles en France*, 1858, p. 87. There was no law forbidding this, but that a fusing of the races did not take place for a very long time is proved by the continuance of the personal principle in law till the tenth century. Holtzmann, *Französische Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 52.

<sup>24</sup> Byron says in the introduction to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*: "Now it happens that the good old times . . . were the most profligate of all possible centuries. The vows of chivalry were no better kept than any other vows whatsoever." Compare the treacherous seizing of Ulrich von Lichtenstein by his own vassal (Gustav Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, vol. ii, abt. i, 1892, p. 23), or the horrible faithlessness of the sons of Henry IV against their own father (Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii, pp. 347-57). Lindner (*Geschichtsphilosophie*, 1904, p. 119) remarks that the vow of fealty was only held as long as it was to the advantage of either side. During the Crusades it was generally acknowledged that the Mahomedans kept their vows more faithfully than did the Christians (*ibid.*, p. 120). One often forgets in the glorious features of the *Nibelungensage* its questionable ones: "Egoism and envy, it is true, often prove stronger than duty and exactly the *Nibelungenlied*, the 'Song of Fidelity', as it has also been called, shows that infidelity among kith and kin was not rare. Gunther and Hagen deal unfaithfully not only with Siegfried whom they wilfully murdered, but also with Kriemhild, who is their sister and relative. But also in Kriemhild we find the highest fidelity towards her dead husband together with a most striking infidelity against her own kin. Cunningly she induces her nearest blood relatives to destruction" (Otto Hartung, *Die deutschen Altertümer der Nibelungenliedes und der Kudrun*, 1894, p. 28).

<sup>25</sup> See Hartung, *a.a.O.*, p. 52.

<sup>26</sup> For the rest, during the Middle Ages fidelity was not too great among the other classes. The great preacher Berthold, of Regensburg, violently denounces the peasants. In his sermon of the Four Cords, he says: "You betray one another by your infidelity of life and property. But no man does it to so large an extent as the peasants do among one another, they are so very unfaithful, they cannot look upon each other without envy and hate," and he continues further to give a striking picture of the betrayals on the part of the peasants. But the city people also are no better (cf. Michael, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem 13. Jahrh.*, vol. i, 1897, p. 77). Walther von der Vogelweide sings: "The sun has lost its shine, perfidy has strewn its seeds everywhere on all roads. The father is betrayed by his child, the brother by his

brother" and so forth. Numerous further examples on the "good old times" are contained in Delbrück's delightful essay "Die gute alte Zeit" (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. lxxi, 1893, and his *Erinnerungen, Aufsätze und Reden*, 1892, pp. 179-212).

<sup>27</sup> Brandt also allows this difference in Japan (in Helmut's *Weltgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 20). On the knightly fidelity of the Japanese see Inazo Nitobé *Bushido, The Soul of Japan* (German translation, 1903, p. 56).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 2nd ed., 1894, vol. i, p. 682. "One thing enobles them, which, it is true, is also to be found in animals, namely love of liberty," etc. "In imprisonment the longing for freedom never leaves this true son of nature." "The Bushman is the anarchist among the South Africans. On the other hand, where he becomes the servant of the white he is always found most trustworthy." Freedom and fidelity! Perhaps a new Teutonic relationship? The same is true of the Veddahs also. Numerous examples of the love of freedom in primitive peoples may be found in Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (German transl., 1877, vol. i, p. 78 seq., vol. ii, p. 291). Cf. also Lamprecht, i, p. 174.

<sup>29</sup> Cf., for instance, vol. iii, pp. 308, 463, 472. The great Visigoth King Ataulf, himself acknowledged that at first he planned to overthrow the entire Roman empire and to erect a world empire of his people, but then gave up his plan because his ample experience had taught him that his undisciplined people were not yet capable of suffering the necessary State discipline for this, of resigning self-help by feuds and of obeying the law. He afterwards sought his glory through the strength of his people to raise and protect the Roman Empire anew, and as he could not become the destroyer of Rome, he would live in history as her re-establisher (Dahn, i, 354).

<sup>30</sup> H. S. Chamberlain, *Richard Wagner*, 1901, p. 167.

<sup>31</sup> Breysig, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 752.

<sup>32</sup> Spencer, vol. ii, p. 328, gives numerous examples of this. Also Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*, 6th ed., 1899, vol. ii, pp. 446-72. In Teutonic law woman holds a lower place than man, her wergeld was as a rule much lower, only among some tribes a woman still capable of bearing children had a higher one (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 1899, i, p. 557). Among the Redjang of Sumatra the wergeld of the women is about double that of the men (Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 1894, pp. 404, 413). On the whole, however, the position of woman among primitive peoples is unfavourable.

<sup>33</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, viii. The awe shown towards women is probably due to her being easily excited, her place as the bearer of life, and so forth. Cf. proofs in Ploss, *a.a.O.*, p. 448 seq. The religious estimate, however, is not always connected with the social one. Bertillon has "discovered" that among the Teutonic characteristics in France is a tendency to divorce! Cf. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900, p. 519.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. R. Geyer and R. Much on "The Arabian and Teuton Women in Battle", *MWAG.*, 1909, pp. 148 seq.

<sup>35</sup> Cæsar, *De bello gallico*, vi, 21. African travellers have noticed that the frequent sight of nakedness rather cools down than excites the onlooker (Schneider, *Die Naturvölker*, 1886, vol. ii, p. 432); further examples of decency in spite of complete nakedness, bathing together, and so forth, are given by Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. i, 1877, pp. 356 seq.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Adelung, p. 330; Procopius, *bell. Got.*, iv, 14.

<sup>37</sup> "When the German punished adultery so severely it was not out of hatred against this vice, but because of revenge for damaged property; for his wife was his first serf" (Adelung, p. 295). Also Schrader, *Indogermanen*, pp. 65, 96, draws attention to the low position of the wife: "Woman is a born working animal." She was often exposed to ill-treatment, even Siegfried, on the slightest cause, severely beat his wife Kriemhild.

<sup>38</sup> Westermarck, *Geschichte der menschlichen Ehe*, 1893, p. 56 seq. Cf. also Ratzel, i, pp. 253, 255, 460, etc.

<sup>39</sup> Ellen Key (*Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, 1905, p. 62) compares family life and the position of women among the German and Latin peoples.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Jakob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 4th ed., 1899, vol. i, pp. 669-74. See further Schneider, *Die Naturvölker*, 1895, vol. i, pp. 213 seq., and

especially the very numerous examples throughout the whole world in Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, 1906, pp. 386 seq.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Grotjahn, *Der Alkoholismus nach Wesen, Wirkung, Verbreitung*, 1898, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> Even Christian Teutons sold prisoners of war to the heathens for sacrifices. O. Fischer, *Bonifatius der Apostel der Deutschen*, 1881, p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> For proofs see Dahn, *Urgeschichte*, i, p. 390 ; ii, p. 403 ; iii, pp. 44, 50-1, 60, 63, 644, 701, 725-7, 772-3, etc. ; iv, pp. 143, 180.

<sup>44</sup> Chamberlain remarks (p. 749) : " No one was so created to hear this heavenly voice like the Germans—and the entire German people at once seized the arms of Evangelism, abhorring every idiotic superstition, as the history of Arianism proves." On the other hand, Dahn mocks at the " phrases of the theologians " of the " inner longings of the Germans for salvation "—rather, as a rule, as far as the masses go, they opposed Christianity desperately and fought to the death against it (iii, 773).

<sup>45</sup> See Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter*, 2 vols., 1875-7.

<sup>46</sup> Bezold, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, p. 349. Cf. the sharp polemic against the theory of a connexion between Protestantism and Germanism in Robertson, *The Saxon and the Celt*, 1897, pp. 95 seq., 143 seq.

<sup>47</sup> Philipson, *Westeuropa im Zeitalter von Philipp II, Elisabeth, und Heinrich IV*, 1882, p. 11.

<sup>48</sup> For the importance of social conditions on the fate of the Reformation in Germany and France, cf., for instance, K. Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii, 1, pp. 194, 489. Further on France, H. Doniol, *Histoire des classes rurales en France*, 1867, p. 331.



## CHAPTER XIII

### GENERAL PRECONDITIONS FOR CULTURAL PROGRESS

THE apparent fact that some nations are far ahead of others in cultural development had no little share in giving birth to that peculiar racial conceit which looks down with contempt upon the "lower" races and sees in the progress of its owner's race an effect of "nobler" inherent qualities. This antiquated conception, however, may be controverted by many weighty reasons. We can only give here a few examples of how the real causes of the diversities of national developments may have arisen; at the same time we know that our present knowledge does not warrant a satisfactory explanation of the immense varieties of human development.

Three general factors evidently co-operated in each separate case to form the spirit of a people: nature, society, and history. Moreover, there is also the factor of strong individualities, which cannot be explained entirely by environmental circumstances and which may have had a great influence on historical development. Social and historic factors can to a large extent be traced back to environmental influences, but once having come into existence these often acquire immediately such a high degree of independence that they become stronger than the physical conditions from which they sprang. This consideration, though perfectly clear and self-evident, has nevertheless been too often neglected. Some scholars think they have sufficiently proved the existence and outcome of innate racial qualities in the several nations when they can demonstrate that the same or similar physical environments at one time have brought about quite different results. Their favourite example is the cultural part Hellas played in ancient times as compared to the little cultural importance of modern Greece, although the country is the same now as it was then and the surrounding air and sea have not changed. What they fail to see in the case of Hellas, and in all like cases, is the circumstance that social and historical conditions have changed entirely since those remote days. In olden times the development of Greece was favoured extraordinarily by the vicinity of the big cultural centres of Babylonia, Egypt, and Persia, while on the other hand

its geographical position preserved it from being crushed by the impact of the great world powers, as Israel had been. Moreover, there resulted from the geographical and political differentiation of the Hellenic peninsula a spirit of independence and emulation among its inhabitants such as could not fail to lead them far beyond the cultural possibilities of the big theocratic empires of the East. Hellas, in the period of her florescence, was situated in the centre of international traffic; these favourable conditions, however, have now changed fundamentally. This example makes it clear how far one might go astray from truth in neglecting the peculiar historical conditions under which a people lives at a given period. The same environments may produce different results, according to the cultural stage of the people when settling in the country, and according to its relations with the surrounding peoples.

The idea of evolution has sometimes led to the rather hasty construction of one single line of development, consisting of successive stages, supposed to be typical for every people. Against this theory the "Kulturkreislehre" in Germany and "diffusionism" in England and America<sup>1</sup> lay stress upon historical differentiation and individuality in the evolution of primitive peoples. This viewpoint is absolutely justified but it by no means implies that cultural incongruities under like environmental conditions must be explained as the outcome of different racial aptitudes. Whether, with Bastian, we conceive all the innumerable and sometimes surprisingly close analogies found in the most distant races as elemental thoughts of the one and undivided human spirit, or whether with Ratzel, Graebner, Schmidt, and Rivers, we lay more stress on the transmission of cultural goods from one race to the other (which, of course, presupposes in the receiver the capacity for adopting foreign ideas and therefore a certain mental affinity), or whether with Thilenius and Ehrenreich we assume cultural parallels proceeding from dissimilar sources under the influence of like conditions, our proposition holds good always, namely, that the human psyche in all races is fundamentally connatural. The thesis that the mind of the different races is fundamentally the same does not mean that all races must have developed exactly in the same direction and through the same stages, if outward conditions were about the same. First of all we never find absolutely identical conditions. Sometimes a small fortuitous event, the influence of a leader, an invention, etc., may have changed the whole subsequent evolution. I believe that if one or two military chiefs of the former Austrian and German regime had died or retired

in 1913 the world war might perhaps never have broken out, though there were of course a multitude of war-mongers in all the nations concerned, whose influence, however, was not decisive in the critical moment.

The fundamental equality of races is proved by the fact that there are innumerable parallels between primitive peoples who seem never to have come into contact. Moreover, the cultural position of the continents roughly corresponds to their physical conditions.

#### PHYSICAL PRECONDITIONS FOR CULTURAL PROGRESS

The fundamental physical factors which determine the development of a people are <sup>2</sup>:—

1. The climate, namely heat and cold, dampness or dryness of the atmosphere, etc. All extremes are of course unfavourable to progress. Extreme heat, especially when combined with excessive moisture, has an enervating effect; cold, temperate climates and those with contrasts seem propitious for the preservation of energy. This was observed by ancient writers; and some modern ones have even exaggerated the importance of the physiological effects of climate. But it cannot be denied that there is some truth in their observations.

Of much greater importance than the physiological effect of climate seems to be its psychological influence, namely, in so far as extremely hot and extremely cold zones render the regular performance of work difficult, this materially hinders the development of steady energy. Under such physical conditions man continues in a state of somnolent inertness, broken only by temporary efforts.

Here we notice a parallel between the cultural level of the peoples in the several parts of the earth and their climatic conditions. Europe, essentially situated in the temperate zone, doubtless holds the foremost place; next come parts of North America and Northern Asia. On the whole, however, Asia, as also America, extends further than Europe into the extreme zones, and as regards Asia, moreover, just those parts lying within the temperate zone are covered to a vast extent by cold, dry tablelands and deserts. Montesquieu long ago voiced the opinion that there exists no temperate zone in Asia, only extremely cold and extremely hot regions in close proximity. Africa and Australia, finally, lie entirely in the torrid zone and waterless deserts engross most of their space.



2. Mineral and vegetable resources ; animals fit for hunting and domestication. Here, too, extremes are harmful. There is plenty of evidence that enervation and stagnation follow not only when nature shows herself niggardly, but also when she lavishes her gifts in too rich profusion. Already Cook, the great navigator, observed that the facility of winning food from the bread-fruit tree was the chief reason for the scanty development of civilization in the South Sea countries. Buckle has brought into special prominence how much more cultural development is furthered by such environments as force man to display his working energies than by such as offer all the necessities of life in lavish profusion.<sup>3</sup> Among the East Malays of Ceram a man can provide for himself in one month so much sago that half of it suffices to feed him throughout the whole year, while he barter away the other half for trinkets and implements. Under such conditions where is there an incentive for invention and an education for steady work ? The most active civilizations generally arose in regions of dry or swampy plains where people were forced under the stress of necessity to perform artificial irrigation or drainage.

In respect to Nature's gifts also the Eurasian continent is far ahead of all the others. Africa, on the contrary, was originally deficient in the most important domesticable animals and edible plants. Even more striking in this respect was the poverty of America. Previous to the advent of the Europeans in that continent horses, cattle, goats, and camels were unknown. The bison baffled all attempts at domestication. In America, of domesticable animals there were only the dog and the turkey, and in South America the llama, which, however, thrives only in the highlands. This is the reason why most of the Red Indians never got beyond the hunting stage. Nomad tribes of horsemen, such as in other parts of the world by conquering and subduing vast stretches of land brought about the formation of large states and nations, did not exist in America ; hence the enormous number of small and diminutive tribes which failed to be welded together in political entities of any considerable extent. Conditions were worst of all in Australia, which had no domesticable animals at all and was also extremely poor in animals fit for hunting.

3. Detrimental physical factors : high mountains, impenetrable forests, rivers, swamps, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, inundations, beasts of prey, insects, parasites, fevers. Where primitive man is faced by overwhelming forces of nature, no possibility is left to him but to accommodate himself to existing conditions, and

primitive people in fact often achieved this to an astonishing degree, though their ways were not the ways of our modern civilization, which conquers nature by technical means. In countries where earthquakes are frequent light bungalows are more suitable than heavy stone or brick houses. But progress is hampered not only by such obvious factors. A great hindrance which is often ignored is the presence of certain insects. Spencer mentions that on the Orinoco "the current morning salute is 'How did the mosquitoes treat you?'" and the torments are such that a priest refused to believe that Humboldt underwent them of his own free will for the mere sake of seeing the country. The Kirghizes, under the stress of swarming flies, are forced to a nomadic life: for in spring time when the steppes turn into the most luxuriant pastures the fly plague becomes so bad that to escape this the people are forced to go with their cattle high up into the mountains. The presence of the tsetse fly in some parts of Africa made the keeping of horned cattle impossible. The influence of this insect on the migration of the whites was greater than that of any other animal, including the most dangerous beasts of prey, for it is the tsetse which like an invisible but insurmountable barrier prevented the Boers from penetrating beyond the 20th degree. Malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes, the plague by rats. However much a Negro may plant, the corn-weevil comes and devastates all; there is no chance of thriving by hard work. In other countries it is the locusts which play a similar rôle. The termites devour everything; stores, clothing, implements, furniture, etc. "A man may be rich to-day and poor to-morrow through the devastations of the white ants," said a Portuguese trader to Livingstone, and Humboldt observed: "Where the termites destroy all records a progressive civilization is impossible." Discouragement produced by such conditions may alone prevent all progress.

Buckle furthermore pointed out that awe-inspiring phenomena of nature nourish the spirit of superstition, and that one must see in this a check on progress. The rank belief in witchcraft among primitive peoples seems to have its cause in this. In Europe, at any rate, nature shows her destroying and checking forces less than elsewhere.

4. Conditions of space. The importance of this factor varies according to the social stage of a people. Here, too, extremes often exercise a retardative influence on progress. When left too small a space a people will be stunted in its growth, but boundlessness of space may also prove fatal for low races. The very

circumstances which to-day implies the preponderance of America over the old world, namely vast space, is the greatest hindrance for a primitive people to progress and even take the first step from the nomadic to the settled life. The enormous scope the American continent offers could only be turned to good account by newcomers of a higher civilization. Nothing is so detrimental for the development of low races than boundless plains, where they may spread without any great friction. If the game of a hunting ground becomes scanty, the tribe without much ado moves on, if superficial tillage does not suffice to feed the increasing population, there is space enough for expansion, if a conquering tribe breaks in, there is always a chance of evading the danger by moving the tents on. Social contact, being the stimulus of all progress, is lacking in continents where there is no struggle. Russia, Polynesia, Africa, give evidence of this. The early civilizations all proceeded from countries of moderate space hemmed in by mountains, rivers, seas or deserts which prevented the inhabitants from limitless roving and at the same time protected them against inroads. For such peoples, however, as are already possessed of technical attainments and social organizations, it is just this wide scope of life which by nourishing optimism and self-reliance turns out to be a great incentive to action.

5. Traffic-routes. The extent of the facilities of communication between the several continents is of great moment. On this depend the possibilities of migrations and of interchanging cultural attainments, such as domesticated animals, plants, implements, etc. Europe and Asia, not separated from one another by natural barriers, form in reality one great entirety. Therefore the most intense mixings always took place between these two continents. Africa also once communicated with Europe through a broad bridge of land which, however, was at an early period submerged by the sea so that only a very narrow connexion was left between Asia and Africa. Leaving aside North Africa, which belonged to the Mediterranean sphere of culture, this continent had but little communication with other continents. Australia was even more isolated as it had been dis severed from Asia by an early geological catastrophe. Between North and South America there existed only a narrow bridge of communication, and the connexion with other continents were but scanty.

6. Orographical and hydrographical conditions, that is to say, the configuration of the coasts, islands, mountains, mountain-passes, table-lands, rivers, lakes, swamps, deserts, steppes, forests. The



topographical configuration of a continent partly hinders and partly promotes communication. Protection through natural barriers is to a certain extent vital for a race. On the other hand such natural barriers must not be insurmountable, for a race strictly isolated has no chance of progress. Above all the sea, big navigable rivers, and other highroads of international communication, for instance, belts of grassland the formation of which depends on the nature of the soil (Loess) are particularly fecund of impulses.<sup>4</sup> That the Slavs for a long time lagged behind in culture is chiefly due to the fact that the East of Europe was not so easy of access from the open sea as Western Europe. Islands frequently showed cultural prematurity, on account of their offering protection, and at the same time good facilities for traffic (Crete, Tyre and Sidon, Venice, England, etc.). A richly divided coast and islands lead a people to navigation, expansion, and cultural exchange (Greece, Scandinavia).

That the topographical configuration of Europe is peculiarly favourable has often been pointed out; the Mediterranean Sea, around which all ancient civilizations centred, offered extraordinary advantages. The other continents are more uniform in their topography. Montesquieu pointed out that Europe offered a chance for a great number of states and peoples to develop their individuality, and that there prevailed between these a certain balance of power, while the vast plains of Asia had produced despotic empires in which there was no room for liberty. Poorest of all in topographic variety are Africa and Australia. The African coast, devoid of easy harbours and infested by fevers, is specially difficult of access, while the rivers through rapids and shoots hamper navigation.

This cursory survey shows that the original cultural level of the continents, of which each represents one of the large racial groups, finds its explanation in natural factors. A more exact examination, however, must also take into consideration the historical movements. Man is not a mere product of nature; even he himself reacts upon nature with his own forces, and there are no stronger influences upon the cultural status and mental habits of the nations than their mutual relations. From out of the given physical surroundings there develop the forms of society and economy, of family, tribe, state, intellectual and moral culture, and all these factors together exercise later an independent and most decided influence upon the lives of the nations.

## HISTORIC PREREQUISITES FOR PROGRESS OF CULTURE

Physical factors have but a relative value ; whether they influence a people to advantage or disadvantage will always depend on the cultural level this people has attained. When Gobineau attempted to prove the power of racial aptitudes by stating that the Red Indians of North America neglected to make the best of the natural resources of their country he might just as well have asked why the ancient Teutons neglected to exploit the coalfields of the Ruhr basin. That coal can be used as a fuel has been known for a long time ; but only in recent times did the European nations attain that stage of social evolution which demanded and also made possible the modern use of coal. Narrow local and historical environments never make possible but a limited, one-sided development ; and only the combined experiences of many times and localities can produce that unrestrained spirit of progress which knows how to overcome all inner and outer hindrances. H. Taine used in respect to this the term " moment ", frequently misunderstood, which he borrowed from mechanics,<sup>5</sup> where it implies the acquired acceleration of a body in motion. " Historical progress for the most part depends on this acceleration transmitted from generation to generation, that is to say, from acquired habits and qualifications attained through the painstaking efforts of innumerable peoples."

For this reason culture did not develop in a straight line and in one region only, as would have been the case were the theory of racial superiority true, but it grew by fits and starts. When it reached a certain level in a people, it decreased, and this fact has been erroneously explained by the race theorists as degeneracy through crossings. But the cultural assets once attained are not lost. Other peoples take them over and develop them further. Physical conditions favourable for a primitive stage may later have a retardive effect and vice versa as was pointed out particularly by Buckle. Steady progress, therefore, is conditioned on successive favourable changes in the surrounding physical conditions, or in the people itself. Such changes may take place either by migrations of less civilized races, namely, when a people driven by stress of necessity (natural cataclysms, over-population, hostile inroads, etc.) leaves its homes and finds in new surroundings a stimulus for further progress ; or a higher civilized foreign people may stream in, bringing with them new cultural elements such as make possible a fresh utilization of the given local conditions

(colonization). The result in both cases is extensive mixing of cultures and races, which often has an extraordinarily fecundating effect.

Exchange and intermixing of cultural attainments is indispensable for the very reason that the germs of civilization, springing up in several localities, of necessity take at first a one-sided development. Thus for instance, in such highly developed societies as Babylonia and Egypt the use of iron was very rare for a long while (in Egypt even that of copper was rare), for the simple reason that metal ores were not found in the alluvial soil of Mesopotamia and the Nile valley. Metals, therefore, had to be imported. It is clear that agriculture, industry, and military affairs were greatly influenced through this state of things. The heavier the waves which the sea of history throws the easier will such one-sided developments be compensated. Naturally, the storms of history must not rage so ceaselessly as to destroy all the germs of higher culture. Extremes are harmful here, too, and the right middle way has but seldom been found.

Throughout the whole course of history there appears an antagonism between the fixed settlers and the nomads, the peaceful agricultural peoples of the wide fertile plains and the hard warlike tribes of the desert and mountains, who by the inclemency of their own homelands are driven to marauding and conquest. Of the peaceful type may be taken the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Chinese; of the warlike the Assyrians, Arabs, Persians, Dorians, Celts, Teutons, Mongols. The peaceful type mostly attains high cultural florescence and brings forth great achievements in religion, morals, law, science, art, technics, and economics. The elements of humanity appear. But this progress comes to a standstill, for the political form of the peaceful tillers of the ground are theocracy and patriarchal absolutism: the ruler is the representative of the deity, the priests are the administrators; hence rigid adherence to sacred traditions, intolerance, tutelage, and finally a torpescence and standstill of evolution. Such states perish in the end not only through military and political weakness caused by the disintegrating effect of progressing feudalism and its depressing influence on the social conditions of the people but also through lack of progressiveness owing to the absence of liberty and individualism.<sup>6</sup> They leave, however, a rich heritage to other peoples.

The warlike type, on the contrary, is at first poor in culture, but develops military energy and political discipline; it maintains the prevalence of the worldly over the spiritual power; it does



not fetter the spirit by traditions, because it has but little esteem for spiritual and intellectual things. Great conquerors are inclined to be tolerant in religion and national matters, with a view of reconciling the subdued to their rule. Where warlike tribes rule peoples of a higher culture as masters, they nearly always succumb to the attractions of the more refined civilization. It is surprising to see how rapidly and thoroughly the national spirit of such conquerors changes, in obvious contrast to the race theories.<sup>7</sup> These civilizations mostly come to a speedy end, partly through the overstraining of military expansion, partly through the rank growth of mercenary and pretorian soldieries, or through relapsing into feudalism and progressive enslavement of the masses. But their contribution to the cultural progress of humanity is also not lost. Great conquerors are the powerful mixers of cultures and races, they loosen the bonds binding the spirit to the supernatural and prepare the way for liberty and individuality. The universal empires they form fall asunder for the social and technical prerequisites for their duration are still lacking: but the spiritual after-effects of the work the warlike type performs are of long duration.

A decisive progress towards liberty and individualism was made before all in sea-bound Hellas. While the theocratic empires of the East had been maintained by the tillers of the ground settled in the vast plains, or by nomadic cattle breeders, Hellas established a new form of life, namely navigation. Aristotle observed that navigation was conducive to democracy, while a land-owning aristocracy, resting on the support of mounted warriors, only prevailed in level countries where horsemen could display their power: this, however, was not the case generally in Hellas. Her topographical peculiarities and geographical location made Hellas the homeland of democracy and the fostering soil for a free display of the spirit. Their early colonial expansion in countless settlements all over the coasts of the Mediterranean gave the Greeks broader views and numerous cultural impulses from the world at large. Especially the cultural attainments of Western Asia in particular were taken over in great number and became the starting points for a fresh and more free development, for there was no priest rule in Hellas to fetter thought and imagination to ancient traditions, as was the case in the Orient.<sup>8</sup>

The amalgamation of the Oriental and the Hellenic spirit led to Greek philosophy and science, on which, for the most part, the structure of our own culture was erected.

The topographical character of the country was the cause that the Greek nation broke up into numerous diminutive political entities, between whom there was not only wholesome cultural emulation, but also ceaseless, bloody strife, aggravated by embittered social struggles in the interior.<sup>9</sup> This self-destruction in the end, and not racial deterioration, led to the fall of Hellas. The unrestrained liberty needed the checks of political discipline, national and social solidarity and Christian humanity. Discipline and organization was brought to a high degree of perfection by the Romans, but with them the lack of liberty and political individualism led to a monstrous universal slavery, in which all progress was choked. Hellas, like Rome, fell through the disregard of human rights. It was only the tragic fate of Israel which taught this people to turn away from violence, awakened in them aspirations after peace and fraternity, and left a rich heritage in Christianity.

Development proceeded afterwards in regular fluctuation between authority and liberty, from the Roman Empire with its apotheosis of the idea of the state to the utter negation of the state and the individualistic looseness of feudalism in the Middle Ages, from the modern absolutism of "enlightened despots" to democracy. Oriental theocracy and Roman hierarchy continue to live in the Roman Church; Roman organization and law still live in the militarist and bureaucratic state. Democracy has its roots in Hellas, in Israel, and in Christianity, in the old Teutonic sovereignty of the people, in the feudal privileges of the barons and in modern economic development.

These rough outlines already make it clear that it is absurd to explain the rise of cultures from the display of inborn racial aptitudes, and their fall through racial degeneracy.

Spiritual and intellectual life of a higher order always grew out of the soil of intense mixing only, culture is always a product of mixing. Cultures predominantly grown on the soil of restricted local and national conditions always show technical and spiritual insufficiencies; they lack harmony and often perish through this lack.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Greabner, *Methode der Ethnologie*, 1911; the same, "Ethnologie" in Schwalbe-Fischer, *Anthropologie*, 1923, p. 435; and *Das Weltbild der Primitiven*, 1924; P. W. Schmidt, "Die moderne Ethnologie," *Anth.*, 1906; Schmidt and Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, vol. i; Paul Hambruch, *Das Wesen der Kulturkreislehre*, 1924; W. H. R. Rivers, *Psychology and Ethnology*, 1926. Ratzel and Schmidt have emphasized very strongly their belief in the fundamental equality of the human mind. The opinion of Rivers has been summed up by G. Elliot Smith in the words: "Civilization is dependent more on historical events than on original mental endowment."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. as chief work specially F. Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, 2 vols., new edition, 1923; F. Ratzel, *Kleine Schriften*, 1906, vol. ii; Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*; Hume, *Essay XXI*; Herder, *Ideen zur Geschichte der Philosophie der Menschheit*; Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*; H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, chap. ii; J. M. Robertson, *Buckle and his Critics*, 1895; further works by K. Ritter, H. Taine, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Michels gives many examples in his *Wirtschaft und Rasse* (im *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 143). Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, p. 269. In Europe industry first developed especially in mountainous and less fertile districts where want forced the people to industrial work, coal and electricity influenced industry only in later times. Cf. F. Hertz, *Die Produktionsbedingungen der österr. Industrie*, 1918.

<sup>4</sup> H. J. Fleure, *The Peoples of Europe*, 1922, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Lacombe, *La Psychologie des individus et des sociétés chez Taine, historien des littératures*, 1906, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> Thus we are ignorant of the name of a single Babylonian writer, although a considerable literature has come down to us. It is clear to what extent priestly rule restricted the development of art in Egypt and Babylon. Profane sculpture in Egypt shows an astonishing, almost Greek power of individualization, but the monumental works were bound by severe, ancient laws. In Babylon the nude figure is entirely absent, and priestly influence may be seen in this. Greek art was free of all restrictions, for the priesthood had little power.

<sup>7</sup> The rude Assyrians and Arabs became a highly developed people in an astonishingly short time.

<sup>8</sup> Gomperz in his *Griechische Denker* especially accentuated this.

<sup>9</sup> Burkhardt in his *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* has especially visualized the competitive character of Hellenic culture spurred on by perpetual competition and strife, and also its terrible self-destruction.



## CHAPTER XIV

### PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE RACE THEORIES

#### RACE THEORY AND STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

IT was made evident in the initial chapter of this book that the race theorists mainly have their roots in the desire of certain castes or classes to maintain their privileged position. The vulgar misinterpretation of certain biological hypotheses has also contributed much to their development. The progress of natural sciences had the effect of shaking the authority of the Gospel, preaching the doctrine of the equality of all human beings. In the "light of modern sciences" man seems but an ephemeral creature; the belief in humanity, rights of man, higher destiny of mankind, which inflamed the great spirits of the eighteenth century, is now smiled at as a naive self-deception or slighted as humanitarian sentimentalism. "Devour or be devoured" is proclaimed as the supreme law of mankind. The old dictum of the Stagirite that as a rule the more powerful one is the better one is, as his victory shows, has gained new adherents. No advocate of the established order spares us the silly phrase, a thousand times confuted, that Darwinism is an aristocratic principle, incompatible with the democratic trend of our times. Aristocracy means "the rule of the best". But where is there to be found in nature, apart from a few single exceptions, any rule at all? Darwin's hypothesis implies the extinction of the unfit, not their subjugation: and where on the other hand is there found in social development the extinction of the lower orders.<sup>1</sup> Is the small craftsman that sinks into proletarianism or the unskilled workman "exterminated"? On the contrary, all over the world the upper classes and developed nations increase but slowly or not at all, while the low ones breed all the quicker partly because of bad housing and moral conditions, because coition seems the cheapest pleasure to the poor and with them substitutes many other satisfactions of life, and because they often breed regardless of the conservation of a family fortune and do not bother about the education of their offspring. Finally the well-to-do women fight shy of the pains of childbirth and the

burdens of maternity, and the means of birth control are easier to their hands. Thus, if it be true that the higher classes and races constitute the result of a biological selection of the best, social selection acts just in the opposite sense.

How often must one repeat that it is not the "best" in the human sense of the word, but the "fittest", that is to say the best adapted to environmental conditions, that survives! Otherwise the eyeless proteus of the lightless cave were one such "best"; and to the best adapted creatures doubtless also belong the bacteria which in the struggle for life often get the better of man. Does man refrain from fighting these "aristocratic" destroyers? And would he be impressed if such a bacterium expounded its race theory to him: "We are the strong ones, the conquerors, the best! You, inferior creatures, do not dare to defend yourselves! We are also the older ones! Our ancestors moved already in the primordial mud, long before you ill-begotten and degenerated offspring of infusoria had developed."

The advocates of slavery in North America also found the support of some naturalists, who, by attacking the essential identity of mankind, tried to derogate from Biblical authority as the Bible teaches the descent of all men from Adam. One was C. Vogt, of whom Rensch says that he was unwilling to recognize the Negro as a brother, not because he hated the Negroes but because he hated the Bible; and that he was willing to recognize the ape as a brother, not because he loved apes but because he hated the Bible. In contrast to this I for myself should formulate my standpoint this way: I do not object to having descended from the ape but in view of the moral and intellectual level of many race theorists, I should not exactly like to have descended from the same ape as they.

Race theories are little else but the ideological disguises of the dominators' and exploiters' interests. Therefore they belong to the earliest stock of human thought. The Bakairi, a tribe of Brazilian aborigines of lowest civilization, have a word "kura" which signifies "we", "all of us", and at the same time also "good"; "kurapa" signifies "not we", "alien", and at the same time also "bad", "sordid", "unsound", etc. This is exactly the standpoint of our "most modern ones"! Has humanity had to pass through the terrible sufferings of many thousand years of cultural development to attain this? It would have been better then to have remained in the primeval forest!

## RACE AND DEMOCRACY

The theory of racial inequality is rooted in the will of man. That of equality not? Be it admitted. But there is a fundamental difference which must be taken into consideration: democratic theory does not postulate equal qualities, but equal rights in all men; not natural, but civil equality! Only blind zeal has stressed too narrow a connexion between these two conceptions, and this, on the other hand, is also the chief sin of the race dogmatists. The nationalist may stand up for the equality of rights among all members of his nation, but will he also maintain that they are all equally gifted? The postulate of equality of rights is a consequence of the very fact that the individuals within the several social groups are unequal in value, and that it is impossible to select the leaders according to physical characteristics. If all people of the same or similar physical characteristics were in reality of the same value it would be possible to assign to them a determined social and political position. The inequality of the caste system rests on the assumption that the white man is noble, the dark one mean, that the son of a noble father is good, and that of a vile father vile. Thus it is easy to assign to everybody his natural place. But already Aristotle observed in regard to this: "Nature indeed as a rule desires to bring this about, but is not always able to do so."<sup>2</sup> Social evolution had the effect of making the individuals of one and the same nation more and more unlike each other. The lower a people stand the more homogeneous are they even in their physical type. It might have sufficed in former times for the blonds to possess the stronger muscles and the better battle-axe for justifying their aristocratic position as defenders of the country (even though in their own interest). To-day the father is no more like the son, the blond no more like the blond. A genius often comes from mediocre parents, and breeds inferior children. One and the same man is of different value at every moment of his life and in regard to the manifold occupations which now hold the place of the old uniformity. Who could venture to decide on the ground of physical characteristics what the right place of his fellow-man is and what his soul is fit for? The great formula of all times to come will be: organize social selection in such a way so as to give every man, regardless of birth and colour, a chance to determine and assert his place in life according to his faculties. The aim of social progress is to bring man through education and advice to a right appreciation of his own individuality, to develop this individuality, and then to



regulate the means by which a man may be allowed to conquer his proper place in life without injury to the moral structure of society.

Reasonable race policy cannot be based on the forcible promotion of equality, but it will attempt to remove such distinctions as prove detrimental to social harmony. Can only the utterly homogeneous live together? Do not, on the contrary, quite heterogeneous natures, e.g. in married life, often give the example of a happy harmony? This will by no means lead to an indiscriminate promiscuity. For it is just the despised position of a race which delivers it up as an easy prey to the carnal appetite of its masters. Equality arouses the self-esteem of the coloured women and restricts intermixture. When slavery prevailed crossings between whites and blacks were far more frequent than they are now.<sup>3</sup> Such peoples as were never subject to Europeans as slaves, for instance the Hindoos, Chinese, the Red Indians of North America, the Australian aborigines, etc., either hardly mixed at all with Europeans or not to the same extent as the Negroes or the Red Indians of South America.

Finally we must consider this also: the instinct of exploitation and domination in man should be bridled not only in the interest of the subdued but also for the sake of the masters themselves,<sup>4</sup> and not least also on account of the revolting hypocrisy of thought and will which have their roots in it.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE RACE THEORIES ON THOUGHT

Race theorists like to emphasize the "scientific character" of their methods. The weaker they feel in their arguments the louder they speak of "irrefutably established facts". With all that they are wary enough to advance, for the most part, such arguments as can be neither proved nor disproved. When then the race theorist has propped up his bold assertions with a few possible reasons, he invites his opponents to give a clenching refutation. Thus, against the logical rule which demands that he who advances an assertion should also furnish the proofs, these are shuffled on to the opponent. But this is not all. Presently he declares the "possible" to be the "probable" and himself entitled to hold it for true until the contrary is proved. Thus we live to see a reinstatement of the old probabilism in matters of science.

Every reader of Chamberlain will find in his book dozens of instances of this kind. Chamberlain himself once quite openly expresses this principle. St. Ambrosius is "surely of true, noble

stock" although he lived in the "racial chaos" of the expiring Roman Empire. "It is true, I cannot prove it, but nobody can prove the contrary, and therefore the personality of the man must decide." The decision on the ground of personality, however, is most simple and easy: was the personage in question a noble figure, as in the case of St. Ambrosius, then he must have been an Aryan; was he a scoundrel, he is called a "Semite" or a "mongrel", was he wavering in his character between the two extremes, he was a "half-breed", namely in his "good hours" an Aryan and in his "bad hours" a non-Aryan.<sup>5</sup>

The maxim of the race theorists to pass as an established truth whatever assertion suits their purposes as long as it cannot be strictly confuted, sometimes brings about the most amusing complications. Chamberlain threw out some hints that Jesus Christ must have been an Aryan, and some of his votaries, less reserved than he, apodictically maintained this to be so. Others, however (e.g. Dühring, E. v. Hartmann), argued from the very same premises that he was a Jew, and complain of the Jewish infiltration of the Teutonic spirit through the doctrine of Christ. Buddha is to the first the sublimest embodiment of the Aryan spirit, but others see in him a non-Aryan and an enemy of the Aryan spirit. Charlemagne is accepted by Chamberlain as a representative Teuton, while some French writers claim him for their race as a Romanized Celt. A German race dogmatist, Max Engelmann,<sup>6</sup> declares Charlemagne of non-Teutonic stock, of Roman descent, and calls him a "hostile butcher and murderer of noble Teutons". Lord Byron's love affairs, according to Chamberlain, "warrant his true race" and are a "proof of his Teutonic individuality". Driesmans,<sup>7</sup> on the contrary, concludes from them the Celtic descent of the poet, asserting as a proof that he frequented prostitutes! Prostitution appears here as a symptom of Celtic race, while Ammon explains the occurrence of prostitution in the large cities as an effect of the "intensification of soul-life" brought about in the predominantly Teutonic immigrants through the urban environments! Napoleon, in whom Chamberlain sees the "personification of anti-Teutonism", is in the eyes of Woltmann<sup>8</sup> a Teutonic Vandal. Cervantes and his Don Quixote are, according to Chamberlain, Aryans; Driesmans, however, calls the work of Cervantes "the greatest satire against human enthusiasm", "the Song of Deborah, the song of vengeance and triumph which Celtiberianism lifted up after having got the better of his mortal foe, the Teutonic dominator, the protagonist of romantic chivalry". This same Driesmans calls the social

democrats Celtomongols, Chamberlain characterizes them as "infiltrated with Judaism", while Woltmann sees in them just the representatives of the Teutonic strata of the proletariat who strive for freedom. Lessing is declared by Driesmans as a representative German on account of his "keen, clear, correct, and fair nature" and because of his painstaking efforts to find the exact expression for what he wanted to say. Dühring, for the same reasons, scented in Lessing a descendant of Jews. In the Bible there occur certain peoples of tall stature, the giants or "Enakim" as they are called (*Deut. ii*). Gobineau sees in them his primeval Negroes who dwelt in Palestine previous to the immigrating Aryans. "To the newcomers they appeared as savage beings of gigantic build, monsters equally terrible through ugliness, strength, and malice, etc." For Chamberlain it was sufficient to know that they were of tall stature (the only characteristics the Bible gives of them) to claim them as Aryans, because he wanted some Aryans in Palestine, and he even draws of them a very engaging picture, calling them tall, blond (!) men, valiant and chivalrous, etc. Chamberlain praises Kant as the philosopher of Teutonism, as the deepest expression of the Teutonic spirit. Otto Willman, on the contrary, says<sup>9</sup>: "The idea of praising Kant as the true German philosopher is absurd: Kant was a cosmopolite, he followed the English, was an enthusiast of Rousseau and the French Revolution. Kant's revolutionary sophistry is utterly antagonistic to German loyalty." Spinoza, according to Chamberlain, was a "thoroughbred Jew and anti-Aryan"; Schopenhauer,<sup>10</sup> on the contrary, who was by no means biased in favour of the Jews, praised his "Aryan spirit". Richard Wagner once declared the optimistic conception of life to be "Hellenic", and another time he called it "foul Judaism".

Chamberlain sees in the rejection of the freedom of will a "sure" reaction of the Indo-European spirit against Semitism. A. Wirth's<sup>11</sup> opinion is quite the contrary; he declared: "The Aryans never recognized predetermination, nay more, they even rejected the idea of an inevitable power of fate." "The Aryan disclaims compulsion of fatality, he scoffs at all checks". Despite his belief in race this writer draws from this the clear consequence: "Race, too, is fatality, is predestination. . . . Thus the basis of the race doctrine is of Oriental spirit. This doctrine is diametrically opposed to the Teutonic conviction of freedom of will."

Empiric science, according to Chamberlain, was "invented" (as all science !) by the Teutons. Driesmans assures us that empiric science grew from "Celtic ground" and was only "reluctantly



adopted by the Teuton elements", for the Teuton appreciates rather "those greater and deeper truths" that lie beyond experiment.<sup>12</sup> Chamberlain, however, believes the Teutons to have a special gift for exact research. If it be true that the several races are possessed of differing moral notions, this would become evident above all in their conjugal morals. But what a medley of opinions do we meet just in this among the race dogmatists! While most of them praise strict monogamy as the highest expression of Aryan morality, which is denied to other races, Hentschel proposes polygamy as a means of race breeding, and A. Wirth asserts from his own experience in the East that this system produces "quite satisfactory effects". Most race dogmatists, furthermore, see in art also a privilege of the racial aristocracy. In strict opposition to this Gobineau maintains that Negro blood is most gifted in matters of art, and to the Teutons, whom he holds so high in every other respect, he disputes all artistic talents! Naturalism in art is according to Chamberlain a true Teutonic conception, while Driesmans traces its origin and character to Celto-Roman influences; others again declare it to be "Jewish". The same inconsistency we find in respect to musical talents. Chamberlain ascribes the highest musical giftedness to the Teutons, while others dispute this. An inconsistency which almost infallibly recurs in all race theories is the following: to the Celts at first a revolutionary spirit is imputed, which makes them unfit for steady political development, next, however, their bias for Catholicism is stressed, and this and the Napoleonic episode of their history are explained by their "servile spirit" and "desire to follow a strong authority", etc. If Driesmans, however, in his book *Keltentum* (p. 178) feels induced to praise the "powerful imagination and profoundness of mind of the Romans" he will encounter not only the contradictions of the race theorists. Woltmann, Chamberlain and others declare the Renaissance to be a revelation of the Teutonic spirit; in the eyes of Gobineau, on the contrary, it is the victory of the resurrecting Romanism over Teutonism and is full of vice and abomination. Chamberlain cannot find anything more "anti-Teutonic" than the aspiration after external universalism combined with internal constraint. On the ground of this formula he condemns Popery as a continuation of Jewish theocracy, and the Napoleonic Empire as the embodiment of "anti-Teutonic" tendencies. The French Revolution also is reviled by Chamberlain. Woltmann,<sup>13</sup> on the contrary, sees in the "organization of the Roman Church as well as in the French Revolution and in the Napoleonic Empire great

exploits of the Teutonic spirit". The Roman Church as well as the Empire are both "Teutonic organizations of sovereignty destined to rule the world". Thus we see that the same thing which for the one is characteristically "anti-Teutonic" is adduced by the other as a proof of "Teutonic spirit"!

Chamberlain and many other race theorists profess themselves special enthusiasts of Goethe, whom they represent as the noblest type of Teutonism, sometimes even as a precursor of anti-Semitism. As against this Hans Hermann<sup>14</sup> says: "If we now look at Goethe with his protruding, dark-brown eyes, his nose curved at the point, his long body on short legs which even seem to indicate a slightly shuffling gait, then we see before us the prototype of a son of Abraham. Goethe was a cross-breed through his mother, and not only in his outward appearance, but his whole essence bore the stamp of his descent from the old Biblical heroes. His glowing sensuality, his always being in love with somebody, his immoral ways, his questionable marriage, which he had legalized secretly only after Napoleon (who himself was not over-moral) had ventured a somewhat sarcastic insinuation in this respect, his servility towards princes so hateful to his stiff, austere father, his utter lack of patriotism, his cowardice in front of the warlike events of his times, and many other traits speak too clear a language to allow any unprejudiced person to shut his eyes to the conviction that Goethe was much more Semite than German!" Bismarck and Richard Wagner also have been declared to be Jews by some anti-Semites of good scent, who by their Aryan intuition found their traits betraying their Semitic psyche.<sup>15</sup>

It would be easy to add many more examples to this list, but what we advance will suffice for our psychological analysis. Finot has collected a great number of opinions on the Greeks, Celts, Teutons, French, English, Japanese, etc.,<sup>16</sup> which are in direct contradiction to one another. The fact is that descriptions of national characters are dependent on the subjectivity of the observer, who in most cases stands under the suggestive effect of some traditional opinion which makes him see things that do not exist.

Finally, one and the same fact may be put in different lights according to the appellations one bestows upon it. Many peoples once passed through a nomadic stage of civilization when cattle breeding and robbery were for them the resources of life. At this stage they were all like each other in psychology, much like one egg to the other. But there is no difficulty in this for the race

theorist. Be the people in question "Aryan" he speaks of their "restless disposition" or "a love of adventure"; are they Semites or Mongols the same thing is called "nomadism detrimental to culture", or "parasitism". Thus Chamberlain calls the instinct of acquisition in the "Aryan" a "certain lofty ambition for ownership", while he finds in the Semites abominable usury and meanness. According to one's point of view one may name the very same psychological fact "love of freedom" or "bias towards anarchy", "fidelity" or "servility", "national pride" or "vanity", "English perfidy" or "German political realism", "Semite intolerance" or "reckless assertion of one's own individuality". With nicely chosen words one may lend a certain charm to everything.

With such methods and a right amount of impudence the race theorist finds it easy to adduce "proofs" of probability and possibility for all assertions. The race theorist has a guiding principle, with the help of which in fact everything can be proved. He declines environmental influence and explains everything as the effect of "racial aptitudes". The Jews are money-lenders on account of the "inborn avarice of their race", the Teutons are good soldiers because of their "fidelity", the Romans built up their world empire and developed their laws through their "innate political sense" and through their sense of justice combined with acumen, etc. All this reminds one very strongly of the explanation of the effects of opium, rendered famous through Molière "quia in eo est virtus dormitiva". While the science of sociology undertakes empirically to explain the unknown, namely psychological motives, through the known, the environment and tradition, race theory takes the opposite course: it multiplies the motives—there are now as many independent motives in history as racial aptitudes—and explains the unknown through something still more unknown, namely through general psychological powers of which we do not know anything at all. Kant warningly opposed to the exaggeration of racial powers the old logic school maxim: "Principia praeter necessitatem non sunt multiplicanda." Also their predilection for explaining the *ignotum per ignotius* shows the little appreciation race theorists have for logic.<sup>17</sup>

The apparent advantage of the race theory to explain everything by means of its principle is in reality rather precarious. This is to be said also of the principles of selection, inbreeding, cross-breeding, etc., applied in biological race theories, but which often do not permit of any exact definition, and exactly for this



reason are applicable to all sorts of cases.<sup>18</sup> Here, too, formal logic offers the right standpoint: "a principle which explains everything explains nothing."

Chamberlain who at one moment vowed his lifelong fidelity to science in her struggle against her enemies and detractors afterwards begins to treat his mistress with little respect. He often speaks slightly of her and places instinct, the unerring race feeling, far above her. Unfortunately the holy ghost of race instinct, as we have shown before, speaks a quite different language in its several apostles. The one declares as true Teutonic what the other condemns as a product of the chaos, and vice versa. All of them, however—as it is fit for inspired prophets to do—utter their opinions with apodictical assurance. He who uses arguments in controversy will always be tolerant because arguments admit counter-arguments, and because after all there is no disgrace in a mistake; but he who pleads the "inner voice" of race cannot convince his opponent, and will feel it as an injury whenever the genuineness of his racial intuition is questioned. Therefore the opponent is *a priori* bad, and his own opinion *a priori* unerring. Thus, in the domain of reason race theory proves to be the worst enemy of order, clarity, and integrity of thought. Its method is anarchy, its way of reasoning is dissoluteness itself. One understands from this point of view the hatred Nietzsche fostered against race theories, he who for a long time was himself a believer of the race dogma. In his later years he more and more passed the most scathing strictures upon it, for instance: "What a hypocrisy and corruption to speak of race in the hotchpotch of present-day Europe! (provided one does not hail from Borneo or Horneo)." "Maxim: have no intercourse with people who have a share in this hypocritical race humbug."<sup>19</sup>

#### THE ETHICS OF THE RACE DOGMA

He who is acquainted with the laws of social evolution will understand his adversary; he will realize that his antagonist, be it peasant, capitalist or worker, acts under the stress of powerful social and physical factors. On the other hand, he is aware that man changes according to environment and teaching, and therefore will direct his efforts towards an improvement of the conditions of life through social reforms and education. He will oppose his adversary, but not abuse him. Not so the race dogmatist. For him there exists only one ideal: his own race. The other races on account of their natural inferiority cannot understand this

ideal—therefore wipe them out. At any rate their own vileness must be brought home to those who speak up for such races. This is the reason why it is impossible to argue with race dogmatists.<sup>20</sup> Their fanatical intolerance against the person of the adversary excludes chivalrous warfare. Here, too, we revert to the anarchy of primeval conditions, as there is no means so vile they would not use it.

The fact that crude interests of domination and possession are to be palliated by idealistic motives cannot but produce innumerable self-contradictions. Thus the race dogmatists are in the same breath for *tat twamasi* and for strictest separation of man from man ; for the protection of animals and extermination of whole races ; for Christianity and the inequality of the children of God ; for and against evolution, for their own intolerance, and against the intolerance of others, etc. They are of one mind with each other—besides in their ignorance—in their instinctive hatred of liberty and equality among and within the nations. Their only aim is to submerge intellect and progressiveness in the swamp of atavistic instincts, vulgar prejudices, and an artificially provoked hysteria.

The belief in the superiority of the ruling race or nation must of necessity react also upon the mentality of the oppressed or despised, and so it does in very different ways. For on the one hand the oppressed feel instigated to make the greatest efforts to prove their equality of value. The extraordinary success of the Jews, for instance, must in certain countries be traced to the fact that not being given fair chances they must strain every nerve to get on in life. On the other hand, however, the preferential treatment of a ruling race has a demoralizing effect on those who are set back. For some of them, ashamed of their descent, will try to conceal it, while others will develop a hysterical sensitiveness, embitterment and subversive turn of mind whereby the gulf becomes even more gaping and insurmountable. There exists a certain “ psychology of the oppressed ” which is far from being attractive.

#### RACIAL INSTINCT AND NATIONAL FEELING

The extent and tenacity of the race dogma, especially among the *intelligenza* of all nations, finds in part its explanation in the common opinion that national feeling presupposes race, or that the race theory is the basis for all national policy. This notion is absolutely false. There are no principles more antagonistic to one another than those of race and nation. Modern nationalism, it is true, mostly has recourse to race theories for the support

of its ideas, unaware of the fact that thereby the most vital interests of its own nation are prejudiced, and that race theories are eminently "anti-national". Race theory teaches its adherents to despise alien races, to hold them as hopelessly inferior, and therefore as undesirable for crossings with the "noble" race. All nations, however, are composed of the most manifold racial elements and we even see that the most mixed stand in the foremost ranks of civilization. Wherever in history different races were welded together into one nation, we see the rising up of strong national states.

The aim of national policy is the winning of influence on alien peoples and the expansion of its own nation. This aim may be attained by the more crude way of warlike conquest and forcible assimilation, or by the peaceful propagation of cultural elements and by winning the hearts of alien races. It would be madness to force one's own ways upon an inferior race, if one holds it for granted that real improvement is beyond their reach. Culture, according to the race dogma, can only be transmitted by cross-breeding, that is to say, at the expense of the higher race. The strictest racial separation through the caste organization of society, the prevention of amalgamation, prohibition of the lower castes to have a share in culture, these are the ways and means of race policy. The most striking instance of this kind in our countries is anti-Semitism, which far from "Teutonizing" the Jews wants to segregate them. The worst example of race policy has been offered by India, where the subdued race, the caste of the Sudra, has been treated with a scorn and cruelty unparalleled in history. The very breath of the Sudra was contaminating, carnal intercourse with them was deemed more than worthy of death and was punished even in the world to come. The Sudra, under the threat of cruel punishment, were prevented from acquiring instruction, they were not allowed to read the holy books.<sup>21</sup> But the effect of this principle goes even further. Woltmann, one of the chief apostles of the race theory, says: "It is a phenomenon of almost regular occurrence that social protection of higher races against lower ones and the legal institutions based thereon react upon the dominating race by producing caste seclusion with heredity of professions and inbreeding in their own midst. This has been the case in India, and the fact that free Teutons also fell into serfdom took its birth from the already existing serfdom of the subdued aboriginal inhabitants of Germany."<sup>22</sup> Thus it came to pass not only that a considerable number of "Aryans" degenerated into the caste of



the Sudra, but also the contempt in which the working Sudra were held was reflected even upon the working castes among the Aryans. Segregation has matured the most curious fruits in India. Every class, every group, every profession had a tendency of becoming a race of its own, or was jealous of its racial origin. As an example of this kind one may adduce the Banjari whose exclusive business it is in all provinces of India to distribute the grain by means of their oxen, but who feel as a distinct race. "The 14 million Brahmins alone are split up into some two or three hundred sub-castes, that are not allowed to intermarry and even refrain from eating together. What a distance between the Brahminic pundits of Bihar in their spotless garb and the haughty priests of Benares to the potato growing Brahmins of Orissa, half-naked peasants in whom nobody would acknowledge their caste but for the piece of dirty Brahmin-thread they wear around their necks! One sees Brahmins who earn their living as porters, shepherds, fishermen or potters by the side of such as for themselves and their families would prefer death to any kind of manual work and would die of starvation rather than take food prepared by a man of lower caste. The Kshatrya, the former warrior caste, are split up into 490 sections. And no common feeling binds together all these splinters." The Indian state was a loose conglomerate of countless townships and rural communities who kept apart and did not care for the common weal of the country, except when a new system of tax collecting was forced upon them. Therefore the idea of patriotism could not develop among them, the homeland for every caste was the caste.<sup>23</sup> Thus we see how overstrained race feeling prevented the formation of national feeling and patriotism; and this also explains the monstrous fact that foreign invaders, Scythians, Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Portuguese, French, even predatory trading companies, such as the Dutch, Danish, and British companies, could subdue whatever parts of the gigantic country they liked without encountering much of a resistance. Whatever resistance was offered to foreign domination came mostly from the Turkish-Mongolic elements living scattered over the country, and hardly ever from the Hindoos proper. It would be absurd to see any effect of racial contrasts in the nationalistic quarrels of our days, Serbs and Croats, for instance, are of the same stock and language, and yet there is an old and lasting grudge between them. Further examples of this kind are the English and Germans, the Poles and Russians. History, also, offers many evidences of how rapidly the illusion of racial kinship arises. All Mohammedans—the Negroes

of the Sudan as also the Caucasian Berbers—assert with pride their descent from the Arabs of Mecca or Yemen. In old Imperial Austria it was often a topic of satire that many of the German leaders bore genuine Slav family names, while the Czech leaders were conspicuous by their German names. Already in the time of Elizabeth the hottest Irish were Celticized Anglo-Saxons, and Parnell was of genuine English descent.

In politics the consequence of race instincts is anarchy. This trait is already recognizable in the extreme feudal individualism of Gobineau, who calls the idea of fatherland in the Greeks a “monstrosity” forced upon the Aryans by the Semites. Race instincts are equally hostile to democracy the aim of which must be the education of the people to sober thought, for only when a nation is free from blind passions and uncontrollable feelings is it qualified for self-government.

#### RACE DOGMA AND INDIVIDUALITY

The ethics of race theory may be easily abstracted from these psychological principles. Robertson has devoted to this matter a chapter of his excellent book *The Saxon and the Celt* (p. 114 et seq.), where he very pertinently points out the contradiction lying in the fact that racial self-praise is applauded among civilized nations, while individual self-praise is considered a clear sign of fatuity. The following remark of Robertson's has our full approval. “Some of the manifestations of the sentiment of race by bodies of grown men are so absolutely on a level with the doings of schoolboys and some are so absolutely on a level with the doings of barbarians, that they almost seem to negate the notion of political evolution.” A prominent bias towards the race dogma in an individual seems to be indicative in many cases of a certain moral or intellectual inferiority. One feels almost tempted to say that there is only one category of inferior people, namely, those who believe in the inferiority of others. At the best, however, belief in race dogma is just the same as national chauvinism, a symptom of immaturity, lack of experience, and in general of an intellectually poor individuality. It rests on the naive assumption that human beings can be valued like numbers, and compared with each other. Intellectual maturity always leads to the insight that individualities cannot be weighed and measured.

Our theme is far from being exhausted, but we will conclude our consideration by pointing out in a few short remarks how race theory is inferior even from an æsthetic point of view. No manner

of explanation is more vulgar and lifeless than the deduction from invariable primary forces. There lacks the fascinating and exalting spectacle of mankind evolving from brutishness to conscious moral dignity, for the noble race has been noble from the very outset. The affecting tragedy of the fall of nations, cultures, and races in the struggle with incomprehensible and almighty fate sinks to a low humdrum farce, where the wicked must die in order to give space to the triumph of the virtuous. The poetry of history, the fascination of other worlds, strange and yet kindred despite time, space, and race differences, the early flashing up of humanitarian ideas in the inscription of a Babylonian king hewn in stone or in a dreamy legend of the Polynesian isles, we stand before them cold and unsympathetic, for the supreme commandment is: "there shall be enmity between thee and the stranger!" Man, according to race theory, is not a living organism, not even an ingeniously devised mechanism, but a blend of different brands of tea. This, at least, is the logical conclusion we cannot help drawing here from the premises advanced by the "sober empirist". If a man in his character shows, or seems to show, contradictions, this is for Chamberlain a sure sign of mongrelism, and the several race instincts assert themselves by turns (St. Augustin, St. Paul, etc.). How much of a mongrel then must Chamberlain himself be, whose work, every page of it, teems with contradictions of the worst sort! And how dull from the purely æsthetic point of view must pure races be, which in themselves have no contradictions! Does not Chamberlain know what Hutten says in C. F. Meyer's epic: "I am not an ingeniously devised book, I am a man full of contradictions!"

When Monsieur de Maupertuis suggested raising a noble race of man by artificial breeding, Kant objected that it was just the mixing of characters, the mixing up of good and bad, which arouses the dormant faculties of man and forces him to develop all his talents, thus drawing nearer to that perfection for which he is destined. Münsterberg says very pertinently that "race theories are but a poor substitute for a philosophy, the last consequence of an anti-philosophical age". This inferiority of thought also is in keeping with another characteristic trait—the degeneracy of the will. A valiant man takes a pride in being himself the founder of a race, impotence alone worships the pedigree. Only he who has to disguise his own inefficiency will glory in what his ancestors have performed, or might have performed.

In conclusion we should like to draw attention to another specimen of a spontaneous confession: "When a man always brings



into prominence his own performances and slights or guards silence on the attainments of others, when certain things are placed in the brightest light and things equally valuable left in the dark, there results in the end a blurred picture from which only the keenest eye will be able to distinguish good from bad. The basis of all genuine Truth, namely disinterested love of justice, is missing nearly everywhere; from this we may recognize that we are still barbarians" (H. S. Chamberlain, *Foundations*, 2nd edition, p. 94, footnote).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the description and criticism of the pseudo-Darwinistic sociology in R. Goldscheid, *Höherentwicklung und Menschenökonomie*, 1911, vol. i; Paul Barth, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie*, 3rd ed., 1922, pp. 260 et seq.; J. Novicow, *La critique du darwinisme social*, 1910; G. Nasmyth, *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory*, 1916; K. Jentsch, *Socialauslese*, 1898; Nicolai, *Biologie des Kriegeres*, 2 vols. Cf. further different volumes of the collection *Natur und Staat*, 1904. Woltmann, *Die Darwinsche Theorie und der Socialismus*, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Plato (*Staat*, iii, 21) advises in the same manner that one should bring to the citizens the "wholesome illusion" that a god had mixed in the different classes more or less costly metals to fit the one to rule, the other to serve, but always presupposing they were brothers. However, Plato soon gives up the idea of a strict caste order, and says that nothing is more carefully to be considered than how to bring the right man to the right place, without regard to his descent.

<sup>3</sup> In Brazil a few slave-owners remarked that the mulattoes were better workers than the pure Negroes, and they at once took the necessary steps to produce them themselves. To do this they paired Negresses with white men. As many of these men revolted to see their children becoming slaves, it happened sometimes that two neighbouring slave-owners gave themselves up to the purpose of procreating mulattoes for each other. This, however, was quite a peculiar favour, which all slave-owners did not take upon themselves. Larousse, cited in Leo von Buch, *Ueber die Elemente der politischen Oekonomie*, part i, 1896. Halle (*a.a.O.*, p. 243), says: "The most noble blood of the South flowed in the veins of Virginian and South Carolinian slaves, and there was no plantation in Louisiana on whose field the step-sisters and brothers, children and grandchildren of the owner were not driven by the whip of the overseer. Also in the Southern States of North America and in South Africa crossings have decreased since then (cf. Bryce, *Bilder aus Südafrika*, 1900, p. 353). Further proofs in F. Hoffmann, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, 1896, p. 184, and Bryce, *Relations of the Advanced to the Backward Races of Mankind*, 1903, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient world perished chiefly because of the social and mental effects of slavery.

<sup>5</sup> This, for instance, is Chamberlain's opinion of St. Paul and St. Augustine (pp. 244, 855). A line on p. 637 distinctly states that the Aryan blood appeared in St. Augustine in "his good hours".

<sup>6</sup> M. Engelmann, *Das Germanentum und sein Verfall*, 1905, pp. 222, 232, 240.

<sup>7</sup> Driesmans, *Keltentum in der europäischen Blutmischung*, 1900, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> Woltmann, *Politische Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 294.

<sup>9</sup> Otto Willmann, *Geschichte des Idealismus*, vol. iii, 1897, p. 503.

<sup>10</sup> Schopenhauer's *Handschriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. by Griesbach, vol. ii, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Wirth, *Rasse und Volk*, p. 29. Similar also Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. ii, 1895, p. 550.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Driesmans, *Wahlverwandschaften der deutschen Blutmischung*, 1901, p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> Woltmann, *Politische Anthropologie*, 1903, pp. 293, 298. The clever Alexander von Peez in his study, *England's Vorherrschaft*, 1912, pp. 145, 202, represents Napoleon now as a "half-Oriental" anti-German, and now as a "Teutonic lord".

<sup>14</sup> H. Herman, *Das Sanatorium der freien Liebe*, 1903. It is, indeed, very significant that many race dogmatists find in Goethe non-Teutonic, Oriental features, so O. Hauser and F. Lenz (cf. p. 230).

<sup>15</sup> The passages in question can be found in *Antisemitenspiegel*, Danzig, 1900, pp. 233 seq., 361 seq.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Finot, *Préjugé des races*, pp. 295-8, 311-15, 325 seq., 344, etc. Seillière in many passages accentuates how much Gobineau's views concerning the national character of peoples changes. On pp. 190 et seq. he gives, moreover, an instructive comparison of conceptions regarding the Persians formed at the same time by Gobineau and a British diplomat. One of the travellers praises the absolute integrity of the Chinese, while others abuse them as the most treacherous liars. Rolf's praises the honesty of his Abyssinian servants, while Rippel says that even the nobles of the empire in Gondar stole the objects from his table. Schweinfurth counts the Schilluk among the nobler races of Central Africa, while others compare them to the monkeys. Ratzel, in his *Völkerkunde*, 1895, vol. ii, pp. 161, 528, 534, and Schneider, *Die Naturvölker*, 1885, vol. i, pp. 46-7, vol. ii, p. 21, give further examples.

<sup>17</sup> It is most characteristic that scholars usually do not avail themselves of race theories in their own domain, but only resort to them when they transgress the bounds of their own science. Their knowledge is then no more sufficient to penetrate through the fog of prejudices.

<sup>18</sup> In every circumstance it is possible to find one side which may have a selectory effect and one which may have a contra-selectory one, but very rarely can the real effect and its degree be ascertained.

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Werke, Grossoktavausgabe*, vol. xvii, 1903, p. 356. Nietzsche's opinion of the race question has been treated recently and explicitly by A. Wirth (*Rasse und Volk*, 1914, pp. 45-52).

<sup>20</sup> Chamberlain calls those who do not believe in race (p. 259) "dull, insipid, and ignorant chatterboxes, slave souls originating from racial chaos, who only feel at home in a primitive swamp, persons without character and individuality".

<sup>21</sup> Nowhere has the oppression of the lower classes of society been developed with such cruel shrewdness and with such consequences as in India. In the period before the abolition of slavery, the slaves were treated like animals and not like men. A report from the Pulaya of Travancore in 1850 says: "Their touch and even their proximity was considered as impure, nay even as defiling. They are body and soul at the disposition of their master, who buys them like chattels, and pays them as such, who has the right to punish, torture, and even kill them. In some parts the Pulayas even in our days are not allowed to use the public roads, in others they have to hide in the bushes at the approach of a man of the higher caste, thus they find it often very difficult to pass from one place to another. If they are engaged in road work they must make signs to warn the other castes of their presence, they dare not approach a Brahmin nearer than 96 steps, attending markets is prohibited to them. Their huts must not be built near the public roads. If they buy anything they must put the money down at some distance and then call with a loud voice for what they require. Even the Mission was not able to break these regulations: its most important effect lies in the really valuable proof that by a careful selection from these men living in mud and ignorance, one may produce by education as able and capable men as from any other caste of India. It proved much that the Government of Travancore in 1875 could not only praise such outcasts for their capability and diligence, but also recommend their fidelity and honesty as examples for others to imitate. Christian Pulaya slaves were whipped to death, their Christian schools were burned down, and so on (Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, ii, p. 597). It is quite wrong to describe the pre-Aryan population of India as brutal savages, whose low accomplishments caused their low position. Several branches of their race had reached a high degree of civilization before the Aryan invasion, they founded empires, and left us proofs of a rich culture in their language and in their graves (Ratzel, p. 571).

<sup>22</sup> Even to-day voices can be heard regretting the abolition of slavery, because, they maintain, the black race will never be ripe for freedom. As if all the whites were ripe for it! Those who sanction the basis of race forget that this violation of the dignity of man would soon and with necessity lead to the violation of their own, the white civilized, race. Loria (*Zeitschrift für*




*Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1896, p. 111 seq.) cites some examples from North American slavery. Another Mr. Chamberlain wrote: "Race! Do not speak of race; we do not mind origin and colour; what we assert is that slavery, whether of the blacks or the whites, is the regular and best condition of society. The blood of orators, generals, statesmen, even of the president of the Republic runs in the veins of men who are bought and sold like horses and mules. It is well known that many pure Anglo-American children are sold as slaves. Sometimes the poor whites of the South sell their children to dealers, and it is notorious that the habit of hunting for white children in the states of the North is ever increasing" (1857). General Sherman wrote: "I saw men and women white as the purest Anglo-Saxon type sold like cattle." Ellison reported: "It was not extraordinary to see slaves so white that you could not distinguish them from whites of the purest blood." George Fitz Hugh of Virginia fought for his opinion that not only the Negroes but all proletarians emigrated from Germany and Ireland should be sold as slaves "for reasons of humanity". Cromwell ordered several thousands of Irish to be sold as slaves to the West Indies; later prisoners, even political rebels, were sold in large numbers as slaves. "One man in ten I knocked on the head; the rest I sold to the Barbadoes," so says Cromwell in one of his letters. Concerning the great extent of white slavery in America, cf. also Hopp, *Bundesstaat und Bundeskrieg*, 1886, p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Chr. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., 1867-74, vol. ii, p. 5.



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